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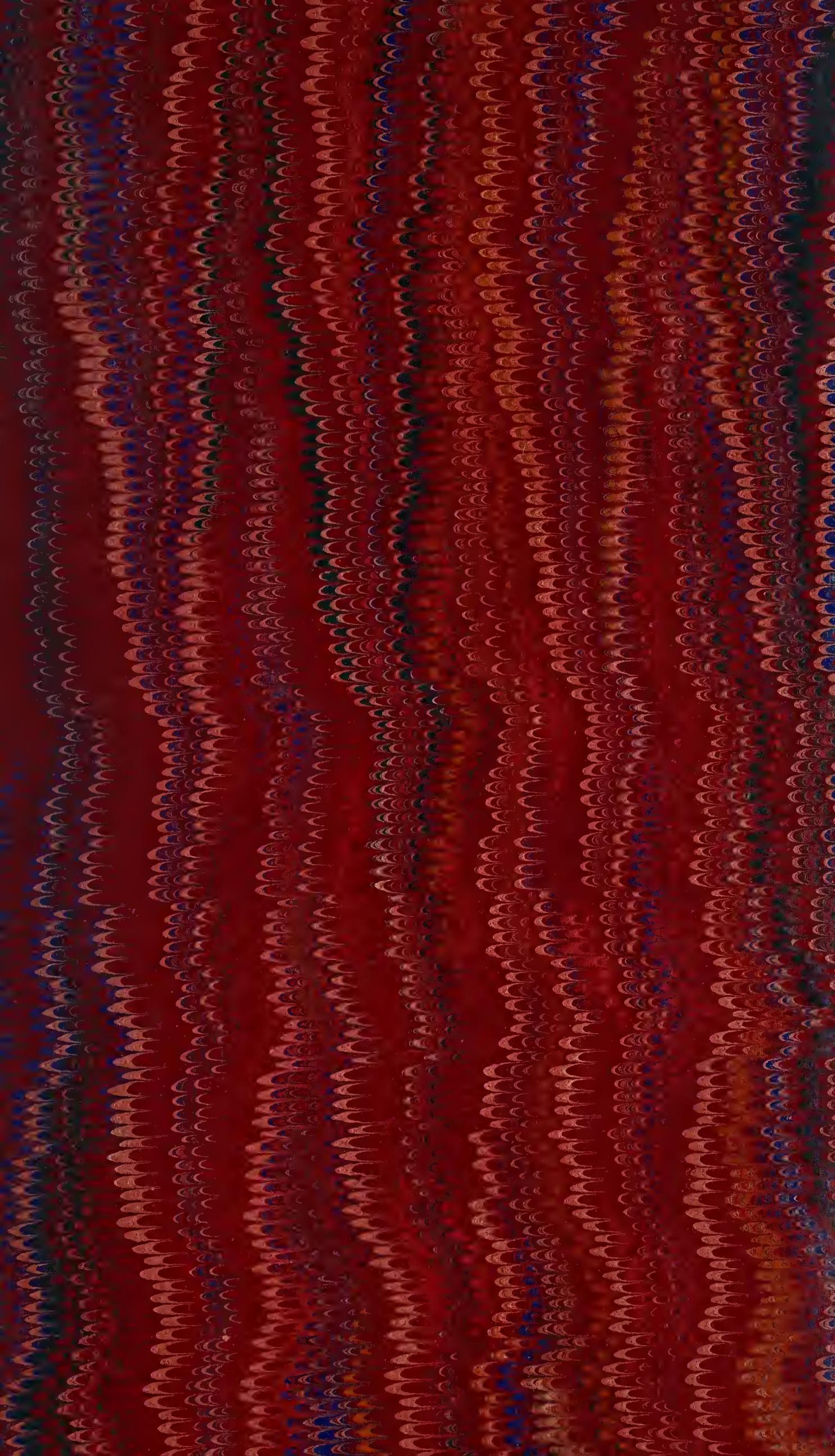
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THE
TOCSIN
OF
SOCIAL LIFE;
ADDRESSED TO
ALL THE NATIONS
OF THE
CIVILIZED WORLD,
IN A
DISCOVERY OF THE LAWS OF NATURE
RELATIVE TO
Human Existence.

BY JOHN STEWART,
THE TRAVELLER.



LONDON;
PRINTED FOR J. GINGER, NO. 169, PICCADILLY.
1803.

[Price Two Shillings.]

HN 388

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Printed by S. GOSNELL,
Little Queen Street, Holborn

THE
TOCSIN
OF
SOCIAL LIFE,

&c.

To render the voice of an obscure individual the Tocsin of the world, or the object of universal attention, I shall not follow the example of ancient or modern prophets, to claim relationship with a personified universe, testified by juggling tricks, called miracles or delusive predictions, couched in ambiguous terms so as to quadrate with any occurrence, and suit the most capricious interpretation.

I shall appropriate my claim of attention to the improved state of human intellect, by exhibiting such important discoveries of the laws of nature as will alarm while they instruct every thoughtful human being relative to its own interest, or enjoyment of good in time and futurity.

The important discovery which is to establish my high claim to universal attention, is simply this:—That all bodies are in a perpetual state of transmutation, in

composition or decomposition, that is, life and death; that nothing can be created, and nothing annihilated; that what is called identity, or individuality of mode, is nothing but a succession of matter and its powers; and that when the clue of that succession breaks, identity ceases, while its substance, or essential matter that formed it, revolves in dispersed particles or atoms into states of new successions of matter and its powers, or identities, in an endless course of transmutations, or circulations throughout the universe.

That this important and awfully interesting discovery may not be confounded with the jargon of the schools, or the gibberish of metaphysics, I entreat the sovereigns of Europe to order their several academicians to suspend their trifling pursuits of literature, their research of mosses, butterflies, and caterpillars' eggs; to divert the labour of chemists from the less important relations of air, acids, and minerals, to the great object of all study, *Man in his momentous relations to surrounding nature.*

The process or trial of my discovery I would recommend to be pursued in the following manner: first, let the chemist expel from his thoughts all propensities of will and prejudices of associated ideas, and proceed to analyze the human body with the same pure and dispassionate reason as he would a piece of brute matter. In such a state of mind, what difference could he discover between the action of thought in the animal body, or the fermentation of a vegetable body? they are both very complicated motions, concealing their principles of causation. What then could induce a true philosophical chemist to determine, that upon the decomposition of an animal body its qualities were fixed, and upon the decomposition of a vegetable its qualities were dispersed and transmuted?

Again,

Again, were he to examine the word Creation, which means, to make something out of nothing, pure reason would discover a palpable contradiction, as well as the word Annihilation, which imports, the reducing something into a state of nothing; which is equally impossible and contradictory.

The last part of my discovery to be submitted to a strict chemical process, is the transmutation of matter; that is, the same identical substance which forms any existing mode of animal, vegetable, fossil, or brute matter, upon its dissolution, by decay or death, is dispersed in all its parts, and again combined separately and partially in every possible form of being, according to the poet,

“ All forms that perish, other forms supply.”

The chemist must observe, in the decomposition of the human body, no difference whatever from that of all other bodies, and must confirm by his experience the above axiom of the poet, which is nothing more than a description of my important discovery, which the poet himself might have claimed the invention of, if he had not afterwards contradicted himself in a metaphysical gibberish.

Divines may apprehend their metaphysical province invaded and superseded by this system of human chemistry; but I think I can obviate their fears by the following considerations. This system of human chemistry offers, indeed, a new kind of rewards and punishments, by delivering over existent generations and nations to suffer the evil and enjoy the good of their own laws and policy, as re-existing in the rising and successive generations:—e. g. The body of the tyrant who first invented the relation of a slave: many particles or

atoms of that body have since been revolving in the identity of slave through the incalculable cycle of thousands of ages ; and though no remembrance of past identity accompanies their divided transmutation, the interest of pain and pleasure is not at all affected by the loss of memory, since it was the action of the same atoms in a different combination, that has been the cause of their actual sufferance of evil or enjoyment of good. •

Individual subjects, in their characters of master, parent, and man, in a kind or cruel treatment of neighbours, relatives, tenants, servants, and cattle, prepare by example, custom, and habit, those conditions of comfort or torment of life; which, being perpetuated to future ages, must become receptical stations of sensitive life to meet their own transmutation of atoms in the alternate and endless progress of dissolution, and separation, and recombination in life and death.

This alchymy of human nature does not at all interfere with or supersede the mysteries of theology, called religion, which postpones to an indefinite period the epocha of a metaphysical existence, called the day of judgment, when the universal power of nature is supposed to assume the personification of human nature ; and intelligence to change the laws of the universe into a new dispensation of human legislation, or rewards and punishments.

This new order of a metaphysical, mythological, and religious universe, according to divines, may not take place for millions of ages, which leaves an immeasurable interval to the province of philosophy to economize human action and human intelligence into the worship of nature ; that is, the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, to the whole sensitive system in time and futurity, without at all interfering with the dispensation

of

of mystery supposed to commence at an indefinite period, called the day of judgment.

Religious worship, consisting in the personification of universal power and mystic rites and ceremonies, is placed beyond the boundaries of intelligibility, and claims the acquiescence of faith.

Philosophy pursues the road of intelligibility, and viewing the visible and comprehensible part of the universe as one organized body, circulating its atoms through all its parts, like the human body, which conveys in its circulating fluids the matter of the toe to become the matter of the brain, and vice-versa.

This experimental knowledge develops the unity of essence of self and nature as the integral part of a stupendous whole, whose body matter is, and power the soul, modified throughout all systems, and consummate in each ; that is, the human system can have no energy in its mode beyond intelligence, which may be called a constituent part of universal power, or a wheel in the great machine of the universe.

This intelligence, or human mode of universal power, is charged with the consummation of the sensitive system in the worship of nature ; or such a conduct of human action as may augment good and diminish evil in time and futurity in the mundane sphere, the boundary of the human mode of universal power.

This developement of the constitution of nature, and its true worship, holds forth a more impressive language to the tyrants of the earth than all the volumes of mythological anathemas, tempered by pardon. The king or legislator who permits the traffic of human flesh, or riots in silly pomp and splendour at the expense of his subjects' misery, or that of conquered and desolated nations, no tears of religious penitence can change the

laws

laws of nature, or impede the consequences of those evil actions which the atoms in the mode of king must perpetuate to their own transmutation into modes of subjects in an incalculable epocha of futurity.

While historians hold up their names to the execration or applauses of distant ages, what effect will these narratives of fame or infamy of names have upon new modes of being, which contain the divided atoms or body of the hero in a state of joy or sufferance, originating from their action in a previous and different union?

The individual citizen or subject, whose sphere of action is restricted to private life, has, however, a very extensive province of energy in example, habit, and custom ;—these produce fashion, and this makes very extensive laws.

Why are millions of our female fellow-creatures in Asia kept in confinement or in prison all their lives, while in Europe this sex enjoys the liberty of manhood ? This evil of Asia does not proceed from the tyrant's law, but from the custom of individuals governed by fashion.

These considerations should dispose every individual to conspire by example, habit, and custom, to generate such fashions as may diffuse the greatest degree of comfort to all conditions of life, to treat a wife as a companion, not as a slave ; to treat servants with kindness and liberality, to be generous to tenants, kind to foreigners, and humane to our cattle : such a private conduct will grow from example into fashion, and procure the establishment of such customs as will render all sensitive life a happy stage of sensation to reward its authors with the happiness of time in their existing modes, and prepare for their change in dissolution and recombination, future stages of their well-being.

This

This important discovery of the constitution of nature, should it fail to impress the minds of my readers with the most awful and animated attention, will, however, be a most sacred pledge to the world at large, that the man who acknowledges, that is, understands, the unity of all being, in essence, interest, and duration, can have no partial attachment to individuals, sects, or nations ; and can have no motive or object but universal good ; and thus qualified, his character alone, independent of his doctrines, has a most sacred claim to the attention of all nations, sects, and individuals throughout the world.

“ Slave to no sect, and bigot to no mood,
“ I look through Nature on to Nature’s good.”

It may be proper, in this place, to offer to the world a short account of an author who advances such high claims and pretensions to instruct the human species in the knowledge and worship of Nature.

At the age of eighteen I gave up all pursuits of fortune, and set out to travel over all the interesting parts of the world ; I felt a strong influence from a Persian proverb, which says, “ Manhood increases in the ratio of travels.” I verified the proverb by my own experience ; my heart expanded in sympathy, and my head increased its intellectual power, not in the futile knowledge of common travellers (plants, animals, dresses, and customs), but in the important knowledge of man in his relations to all nature.

This moral science, by its new and doubtful discriminations, gives the most powerful exercise to reason, in calculating and adjusting equations of good and evil. Physical sciences, having all their propositions and axioms

fixed, give exercise to memory alone, as judgment and reason have nothing to calculate.

The constant novelty of observation and reflection produced in my mind the highest degree of sensibility. The chord of thought in this high and perpetual state of tensity, was capable of sounding the most delicate notes of discrimination, (guarding against metaphysical discriminations without notes), the element of all knowledge.

I discovered, with these advanced powers of reason and perception, that the great cause of human misery was intellectual imbecility. I met in all countries orators, poets, and historians, and men of knowledge and science; but I no where met with a man of sagacity or wisdom; every where I met with men of memory, but no where a man of thought.

I have observed, in the course of my travels, that the inhabitants of the globe are diversified into five distinct classes:—the savage, the pastoral, the agrestic, the commercial, and the civic: that these several classes rise in the order above mentioned on the scale of perception, from simple sense to the generalizations of science.

The Indian savage, in conversation with the pastoral Tartar, would meet with modifications of thought generalized into government and property, that to him would be unintelligible; in the same manner the husbandman of Asia, in a discourse with the Tartar, would carry the discriminations of thought on laws, institutions, and arts, beyond the generalizing power of the Tartar shepherds.

Again, the commercial men of the continent of Europe, in discourse with the husbandman of Asia, expanding the generalizing faculty of perception into commerce, arts, and sciences, would be unintelligible

gible to the agrestic man. Next comes the civic class of Britons and Americans, who are distinguished from all nations by the administration of their own laws in juries and their constituted assemblies of civic rights. Should a Briton entertain a continental man on the subject of civil liberty, the generalizations of perception would involve such a multiplicity of discriminations, that he would not be intelligible to a Frenchman, exemplified by the French revolution, which mistook every principle of civic rights.

I am very apprehensive that the philosophy of the moral science, generalizing the universal relations of man and nature, will carry the faculty of perception as far beyond that of the civic man as this is beyond the savage; and that the following discourse will involve such a complexity of discriminations in every idea, that it will appear unintelligible, and be termed eccentric by the civic Briton.

I observed, education was every where conducted to teach men to play on the instrument of the understanding with a winch, and not with the keys. The Turk has his modifications upon a barrel, as on the hand-organ; the Chinese, his particular barrel; and the Europeans, various barrels, of French, German, English, and Italian modifications.

Whenever my understanding had struck a note from the keys of nature, which at a very early period I had substituted to the barrel of local education, I found the winch-player could not harmonize with, my ideas or notes, but continued to turn round his barrel, and to suppose that the discord belonged to my instrument, and not to his.

The intellectual imbecility produced by the use of the winch, instead of the keys, has been strongly exemplified

in the French revolution: when the new notes of liberty, equality, and constitutional government were produced, there was not a single individual but what used a winch to play in concert with these key-notes; and the consequence was interminable discord.

The English and American nations are the only people who play upon the instrument of the understanding with both winch and keys; the first in the hands of the vulgar, and the last used by a well-informed yeomanry. The great tensity of sensibility produced by the action of the keys has generated a characteristic habit of thoughtfulness, which directs the key-players to accommodate their notes to the barrel-players, whereby these latter are enabled to improve their barrels, and accord them with the keys; by which means the harmony of social life progresses to perfectibility without interruption.

The great object of all my travels, after discovering the relations of man to nature, was to form certain rules of instruction, to teach the use of the mental keys instead of the winch, and thus to put man in full possession of intellectual power, in which consists all human energy, to render the mode of man an efficient and constituent instrument in the great machine of nature.

Such has been the pursuit, such the life, and such the object of an author, who claims the attention of the whole world to the most important instruction that ever was offered to mankind, in a revelation of reason and nature, that, if true, must constitute the most memorable epocha of human existence, and meet with an inestimable opportuneness the present awful crisis threatening the extinction of social life.

I shall now proceed to sound my tocsin or alarm-bell, and form its first peal by an analysis of social policy in its elements, and from these construct a criterion for the partial and general conduct of nations to enjoy practical good, and advance it in the slow progress of ages through intellectual improvement (as the only practical mode of reform) to the characteristic *perfectibility* of human nature.

To proceed in this analysis of human society, I shall first endeavour to trace the double elements of predication and perfectibility; and as the latter is the goal of human energy, we must discover that point of theory before we can mark out the road of practical policy to progress in.

The ultimate object of social organization or human policy is the multiplication of human energy, that is, the advancement of the moral and physical powers of mankind, by which every individual is enabled, through the increase of intellectual power, to form the best possible desires, and to gratify them by the increase of physical power in the aid of his associates, and thus to procure the best possible state of well-being in time and futurity: and this state of well-being may be called the category of human energy, or that station of relative action which effectuates the culte or worship of Nature; which, according to the etymology of the Latin word, means no more than cultivation, or conducting means to attain their proper ends:—e. g. When the farmer opens the furrows with his plough, the sun co-operates with his genial heat, the air with its pabulum or nutrition, the water with its moisture, and the earth with its matriculation; all these actions, if categoric and harmonious, may be called the worship of the different agents in the accomplishment of vegetation.

In the same manner, nations, communities, and individuals may be said to worship in the sensitive system, when the confederacies of different nations, the institutions of states, and the customs of individuals shall all be constituted to harmonize with universal good in time and futurity.

Such is the goal of perfectibility, or recondite element of human association. I shall now consider the actual condition of human nature, to determine what institutions are best accommodated to enjoy actual, and prepare for improvable good.

Mankind are every where at present in a state of factitious, and not natural society, whose institutions are all calculated to divide rather than multiply human energy; nations compete with nations for power. In societies, every family forms a separate state, to invade, by superior knowledge and economy, the property of their neighbours, and to transmit the same to their posterity. In such a state of society, the unity and energy of civil power must be cultivated to provide for external and internal defence. In those countries where property and information are restricted to a narrow circle, the energy of power must concentrate its spring in despotism, and relax itself through the gradations of limited monarchy, mixed government, and elective magistracy, in all countries, in a just proportion of the extent of property and information in the mass of the population.

In no country, however, must power be conferred on individuals who are deprived of all property, or possess it in too scanty a degree, to make any sacrifices to the political power of the state in taxes, or to feel any interest in the support of law and order, by which the inheritance

ritance of property is secured ; or to procure the means of leisure, study, education, and information.

This important lesson of policy, confirmed throughout all the annals of history, in the revolutions of modern and ancient republics from freedom to slavery, caused by popular insurrections, should be inscribed in letters of gold, and exposed on every church door in all constitutional communities, as the guardian instruction of civil liberty, couched in these words :

Democracy is the cause of anarchy,
Anarchy the cause of despotism.

In the present factitious state of civilized life, the enjoyment of actual good, and the progress to perfectible good, can be made only by the stability and energy of civil power giving efficacy to the advancement of the knowledge of man alone, and individual instruction, in sagacity rather than science.

By instruction, I do not mean a course of classical, scientific studies, to overload the memory, and thereby obtund the judgment ; but a domestic tuition, conducted by parents themselves, to form the head and the heart to sagacity and virtue.

The present system of literate and scientific education, teaching Greek to the farmer, Latin to the apprentice, and mathematics to servants, has produced a precocious and flippant faculty of observation that prompts to precipitate judgment, and precipitate action, and defect of thought.

Demagogues, taking advantage of this temperament, propose delusive theories of liberty and equality to the multitude, who, void of contemplation to examine the delicate relations of theory and practice, and feeling the weighty

weighty pressure of luxury, are impelled to lay aside all disposition of subordination, and all regard to social discipline, in hopes of meliorating their condition by a change in the order of society.

To meet the present crisis of the moral and political world, I have composed a system of education, to teach mankind contemplation, to keep pace with observation, and to instruct them in sagacity of thought rather than remembrance of science.

In this course of simple tuition, the parent may be the preceptor to his own family, to teach the young ideas how to shoot in their own energy, instead of stuffing the memory with the ideas of other men's minds, and destroying thereby the faculty of judgment, contemplation, and ratiocination.

This system of education will accommodate itself to all states and stages of society; and should the present organized anarchy of French military power extend itself over all the civilized world, overthrowing in its progress schools, colleges, and universities, this simple system of tuition, substituting good sense to science, the paternal home to the academy, and the parent to the pedagogue, will meet the direful crisis with the only remedy for anarchy and discord, thoughtfulness and sagacity in the public mind.

The discipline of the understanding, as synonymous to good sense, will teach all ranks of society, that infelicity does not attach itself to grade or profession; the peasant, when he shall be able to contemplate the subject of simple observation, will discover, that his condition, if provided with wholesome food, clothing, and lodging, with leisure for instruction, recreation, and repose, offers all the comforts of health, cheerfulness, and contentment.

The landlord, improved by the education of good sense, substituted to science, would discover in his condition a more ample circle of existence, in promoting the happiness of his peasants in a liberal economy of labour and recompense; and, instead of passing life in the agonies of disease, occasioned by crapulency, and the corroding cares of luxury and avarice, he would rise above the peasant on the scale of intellectual existence, and make the happiness of condition commensurate with its energy.

The magistrate, through the education of good sense, identifying the public with individual good, would equalize the burden of services and protection of law to all ranks of the community; and thus organizing the harmony and contentment of his own state to co-operate with the confederacy of surrounding nations, he would, by promoting the good of predicament, as the measure of perfectible good in time and futurity to the whole human species, develope the energy of universal power in the mundane system, and live in the exalted sphere of intellectual life, with the commensurate joy of intellectual happiness.

The military tyrant who shall impose a system of power upon a nation incongenial to their habits, education, and customs, to enjoy the pomp of parade and power, pursues his imperious habitudes or passion for dominion, even against his own conviction: like the glutton impelled by the trifling appetite of taste, though experience has proved its evil, he feeds himself into disease and agony; so the tyrant vanquishes himself into remorse, fear, care, the abhorrence of his subjects and the whole human species, and transmits to an incalculable futurity all the horrors of war, famine, ignorance, pestilence, and anarchy, to meet the circulation of his

own atoms in a long succession of miserable generations in the mundane system.

The education of good sense would develope a system of actual and improvable good, uniform, and accommodated to the policy of all nations, in the following manner:

The foundation of all governments, however they may be shaken by revolutions, must ultimately take their site in the habits, customs, opinions, and education of the people. In America, elective government will prevail; in England, mixed government; and over all the continent of Europe, hereditary power, under different forms of monarchy and aristocracy.

The various forms of government are all calculated to give unity and organism to the social body, and differ only in the administration of protection and justice, influenced and produced by the moral temperament of the people.

Revolutions and reforms of government give no advancement to the perfectibility of human nature, as may be exemplified by the present states of Great Britain, America, France, and Ireland.

The revolution of Britain has produced corruption, dissipation, thoughtlessness, and disloyalty. Learning, or lettered education, has elevated a great mass of the population to an equality of simple observation, without any increase of contemplation, the great master-faculty of mind.

The middling and lower classes of the people reading newspapers, and witnessing the verbal discussions of erudition, and the idle sophistry of learned magistrates, lay aside all respect for learned authority, which has been the pivot of subordination throughout all history among all nations; and this change in the mind prepares the most awful discord for social life.

If we peruse the history of Great Britain previous to the revolution, we shall discover in the manners of the people more probity, more loyalty, and more thoughtfulness ; and in the government a more perfect administration of protection and justice : I do not mean legal justice, but a justice of condition that renders the yeomanry rich, and the peasantry comfortable.

The revolution has opened a wide field to parties and factions, in whose opposition protective power is enfeebled, the corruption of state policy rendered necessary, the people seduced from their loyalty ; and in the progress of luxury and avarice, that peasantry, who before the revolution were the happiest of the whole earth, are now more oppressed with labour, want, and misery, than the Russian serf or Turkish slave.

The English peasantry being the most thoughtful people, must necessarily be the most feeling people in the world ; and the least privation of domestic comfort in this country, would convey a stronger sensation of evil upon the great chain of human existence than the sale of a whole family of unfeeling Russian peasants, or a conscript family of thoughtless French farmers, transported to the deserts of Africa to fight the cause of a civic monster that involves the desolation of their own country with that of the whole human species.

The revolution of America has contradicted one of the most plausible axioms of political theory, which is, that *republican principles enoble the mind, and generate virtue.*

The moral temperament of the American people, while under a colonial government, was strongly influenced by the residence of British inhabitants : the probity of British merchants, the nice sense of honour and character of British officers, both in the civil and military departments, produced sentiments of loyalty and patriotism in the sacrifice of private to public good.

The revolution drove from the country into exile that portion of the population which had been imbued with virtue, loyalty, and patriotism, by British intercourse; and breaking down the barriers of rank, and the distinction of gentleman and plebeian, the pride of honour and integrity was annihilated, and the moral temperament of the people was confounded in one uniform disposition of contracted selfishness and plebeian baseness of character, exemplified in a most notorious want of punctuality and probity in the discharge of debts, accompanied with a most shameless avowal, and a total absence of all sentiment.

The political state of the country menaces the most awful anarchy; the population divided into four distinct classes and interests, slaves, Indians, settlers, and proprietors; the first ready to rise and massacre the white population; the second waiting the moment of resentment and plunder; the third hostile to every kind of law, order, and government; and the last selfish, disunited, and ambitious.

A French settlement, landing and establishing itself in Louisiana, with a population formed by the refuse of atrocious revolutionary characters exiled from France, would be the signal of the most tremendous and exterminative anarchy; and such are the fruits of revolution and independence in America.

What have been the effects of revolution in Ireland? The natives of this country, characterized by an extreme want of thought and contemplation, are uninfluenced by the terrors of law, which act only on reflective minds: military power can alone coerce such a population by opposing real force to crime: civil government can give no protection to its agents. The chief, the judge, the jury, the constable, the disbanded yeomanry and militia, would all fall victims to the individual resentment

resentment of a people who can think only of the evil they feel, and reason not beyond their sensations.

The late rebellion in Ireland has furnished abundant examples of this thoughtless atrocity, inflicting death on witnesses, houghing cattle, murdering loyal subjects, and suspending by these acts of terror all the power of courts of judicature. Martial law saved the country by placing it under the protection of military power; which being always assembled, and acting in a body, they met force with force, and artifice with artifice, and retired to their barracks out of the reach of individual resentment.

Previous to the revolution, the government of Ireland was a military system appropriate to the temper of the people. Since that event, the delusive syren Independence, the watch-word of factious and ambitious demagogues, has prevailed on the Protestant interest to separate itself from a dependance on England, and prepare thereby the triumph of a Catholic population, whose stupid bigotry, bloodthirsty atrocity, imbecility of intellect, arising from an incapacity to think or contemplate subjects, make its character a disgrace to the whole human species, and threaten to render that island a moral volcano, devouring its own entrails, and an object of awful vigilance to surrounding nations to confine its tremendous fury to its own crater.

This unhappy country demanding dependance rather than independence for its prosperity, hangs like a mill-stone round the neck of England; and if the present deluge of French military power is to increase, the defensive force of England, weakened by its extension to Ireland, and receiving from that country a treacherous substitute to create mutiny in the fleets, treachery and desertion to the enemy in the army, the single rampart of civilized nations will be overthrown, and the human

species

species will decline from nations to tribes, from tribes to companies of military banditti, into pristine barbarism. Thus Ireland and France are the only countries on the globe that counteract the great worship of Nature.

The revolution of France has put a finish to the table of political experience; and if the volcano of its evils should be extinguished before it overwhelms the civilized world, the awful lesson of its catastrophe may become the salvation of social life.

The first important lesson it exhibits to the world is, the danger of reform in the constitutive power of society. The augmentation of numbers in the third estate of France, was a simple reform of power that became the primary and sole cause of the fatal revolution.

Useful and salutary reform consists in the improvement of the laws, and the administration of civil power, by organizing information into state councils, to aid the executive power with advice, but not to interfere with its authority, as has been lately exemplified by the conduct of the Russian Emperor Alexander, in the reform of his senate and the administration of the laws.

The second important lesson taught by the French revolution is, the necessity of individual dependance upon the public body or civil power of the state. France, with the violence of revolutionary power, forces surrounding states discordant in manners, laws, opinions, and interests, into her own aggregation, with the watch-word *indivisibility* or dependance, while the English population, aggregated by similarity of laws, customs, opinions, and interests, are reduced by demagogues to adopt a contrary watch-word of divisibility or independence; and thus the independence of America, the independence of Ireland, &c. separate the twigs in the bundle of social union, and deliver over among the only civic people

people of the globe the Colossus of moral energy, the British empire, the germ of human perfectibility, to be destroyed by France, the Colossus of physical force, and the germ of contingency, anarchy, and degeneracy.

The internal union of France, supported by military power, absorbs the individual into the public will, and thereby generates a complete unity, or body politic, while in England the rights of individuals, in juries, electoral suffrage, and popular assemblies, oppose the unity of the body politic, and render it almost defenceless in the assault of a despotic enemy, which, resembling the head in the human body opposed to a sudden assault, dictates defensive action to the members, while these engaged in deliberation refuse obedience, and life is lost.

The language of demagogues nurtures this delusion by persuading the people into the exercise of sovereignty by mandatory instructions to their representatives upon all important occasions: thus, in times of danger, the people are to be called to council rather than to arms; and the energy of military assault is to be opposed by the discordant deliberations of a mob*.

The revolution of France has dispelled this popular delusion, and taught constitutional governments this important lesson, that the deliberations of the people must cease, and the most implicit confidence must be given to the executive on all occasions of urgency and danger.

The next important lesson which the French revolution holds out to a consternated world is, the danger of democratic power in all populous, rich, and commercial states, designating at the same time the true principles of all monarchical governments in hereditary power with the aid of state councils, without authority, and in all

* The Speech of Sir Francis Burdett to a tavern mob.

constitutional governments the qualification of competent property as the only test of information, interest, and civism in electoral suffrage.

The last and consummate lesson of political experience to be drawn from the fate of all is, that revolutions of power produce evil, and that human perfectibility can advance only in the improvement of the knowledge of man's nature, and through the discipline of intellectual powers of sagacity distinguished from science.

Thus the revolution of France, in the short space of ten years, has displayed more political experience than all the annals of universal history, and has generated a monster of military despotism that never was equalled in all the history of eastern conquerors. Alexander, Tamerlane, Naudir Shaw, or Gengis Kaun, governed nations, whose property and persons they dared not and could not put in requisition. But the Consul of France has so completely subjugated both the mind and body of the thoughtless, frivolous, incivic people, that, when he draws his sword, he may be said to draw thirty million of people, forming a mere physical force ready to fall upon itself or its neighbours, just as the hand of power directs it.

This monster of military power nurturing itself with foreign and domestic misery, acquiring energy from corruption, and stability from anarchy, seems to prolong its life with the principles of dissolution and desolation.

The capital, Paris, in violation of the principles of morality in all civilized countries, is turned into a brothel and gaming-house to decoy and debauch the youth of all surrounding nations in a new species of commerce to obtain foreign property, depraving at the same time the morals of the nation, substituting gaming to industry, and thereby producing ruin, indolence, and despair.

spair. The musket of a recruit is the only resource, and the army is multiplied in the ratio of civic misery.

A military government being in its principle hostile to commerce, this peaceful occupation of civilized nations must be abandoned, and arms and military support must be its substitute. The perpetuation of the consular powers depending on an elective senate, the generals will be excited to contention on the demise of their chief, and this interregnum of anarchy will demand a triumphant military power to arrest it.

In this manner the civic monster of consular government will prolong its existence, making all return to congenial and legitimate government impossible among a degraded, demoralized, disunited, thoughtless, and desperate people: exonerated at the same time from all civic duties and obligations of debts, treaties, usages, and laws of nations, expediency will be the watch-word of the monster as a prelude to devastation; and the surrounding nations will be devoured one after the other, fettered with those loose obligations which the monster has broken loose from.

I have the consolation, however, notwithstanding these desponding reflections, to present to mankind at large the most simple means to resist, if not to destroy, this common enemy of man and nature.

I have read the military journals of the French army with the most scrutinizing examination, and I have constantly observed that the uninterrupted series of victories were owing to a spirit of jactancy and gasconade, related precisely in the same terms—"the columns rushed on with impetuosity, and the enemy fled in all directions."

The French army was at all times deficient in discipline. Insubordination naval, military, and civil, was

every where the consequence of the revolution, and impetuous assault became the only tactic of the troops.

The allied armies, subject to the cautious and regular tactics of old established governments, were consternated by the mob assault of revolutionary armies, and dared not resist enough to put the gasconade to any proof.

This proof was first opposed by the Russian armies, who detected the bugaboo of French victory, and drove the gasconading conquerors with as much ease as the regular troops of the line disperse tumultuous mobs of peasantry.

The English army on the plains of Egypt produced the most consummate evidence of gasconade being the only tactic of the French armies. The English army consisted principally of militia or peasantry; the French army, of veteran soldiers, covered with domestic and foreign blood, inflated with the confidence of successful gasconade, and inured to the destructive elements of an Egyptian climate. Notwithstanding these advantages, the peasantry triumphed by solid resistance, opposed to a vapouring and tumultuous assault, that once failing, never returned again to trial.

The campaign closed with an action that has left an indelible impression of the gasconading tactic of the French armies. The English commander informs his government that a party of six hundred French, advancing with all the display of tumultuous and clamorous gasconade upon a body of two hundred English, these, instead of halting to give the French a firm reception, advanced to meet them; and these heroes of Jemappe, Lodi, and the Pyramids, fled with the utmost precipitation from a very inferior force.

To this irrefutable series of evidence I shall add one more which will complete conviction, and that is, that every

every commander in chief of the French armies, whether taken from the office, the ranks, or the shop, suddenly appeared a genius in succession, as if the commission transferred and attached it to the appointment. The fact was, this gasconading tactic of assault was perpetually followed, and its success would have made a military genius of an old woman who conducted it. The great genius Custine, who had conquered and frightened the German nation, died a contemptible coward on the scaffold, where jactancy and gasconade could no longer scare the enemy, the executioner.

This convictive evidence of gasconade being the only tactic of the French armies, will encourage surrounding nations to confide in the superior strength of subordination and discipline, the result of regular government; and by opposing resistance to one single assault, the talisman of gasconade will be broken, and victory and defeat will change sides with consternation and confidence, and no second assault will ever be attempted by the French armies upon those enemies who have once repelled them. This truth was exemplified by the British army on the plains of Egypt, which having repelled the gasconading tactic in one single battle, the French army never made any more assaults, but adopted a desponding, feeble, and unsuccessful defence, which terminated in a disgraceful and total defeat.

If my opinion of the French power should be erroneous, and if their armies have conquered not by gasconade and mob assault, but by superior discipline and superior valour, which they must still possess, there will remain no remedy and no escape for civilized nations: Europe must prepare to retrograde (before fifty millions of ruffians) from regular governments to dispersed military tribes, and to degenerate into a ferocious

state of civic barbarism that would make the present state of simple savage life enviable.

The sound of my *Tocsin* carries in its intonation of alarm these words of instruction, incitement, and consolation to all civilized nations : *Try them ! try them ! try them !* that is, bring the gasconading assault to trial by advancing to oppose assault to assault, and not waiting to receive it, which exposes the troops of regular governments to panic and consternation. The words, *Try them, try them, try them !* should be inscribed on the standards of all regular governments as the signal of salvation or perdition, just as gasconade or firmness of discipline may be detected as the rise or downfall of French power.

That I may not be suspected of English partiality in my censure on the French government, I will demonstrate the predicament of that country to be the most awful calamity that ever threatened the actual and improvable good of the whole human species.

The revolutionary government having violated and brought into contempt every principle of morality, law, and order, by juridical assassination of its own subjects, and by a law of massacre of surrounding nations in warfare, this monster of a revolution devouring daily its own offspring, was preparing a dreadful butchery of parties, in which the whole population must have been involved as heretofore in Jacobinical horrors. Bonaparte unfurled the standard of military power, and the factions and people preferred despotism to the horrors of democracy.

The establishment of the consular power resembles more a camp discipline than a civic constitution. The instability of law produced by measures of expediency,

annihilates

annihilates all confidence, the essence of social organism, as the distributer of subsistence to the population.

The proprietors, or monied men, withhold the circulation of property, in constant apprehension of forced loans, new laws, and sudden revolutions: the people are thus deprived of their proportion to excite industry, and provide subsistence, and the politic body is reduced to the same state of inanition with the human body, whose arteries, bound up, should refuse to circulate their blood into the smaller vessels.

This desperate condition of the nation, which may be called a loss of the social state when we join in consideration the perpetuity of anarchy in the election of a consul, nurtures indolence, poverty, and vice; and thus disposing the population to military employ and military power, forms a nucleus of calamity, that, if the force of the indivisible nations who conduct it should equal their magnitude, the whole world will be involved in a moral chaos.

To this reflection my Tocsin replies, *Try them! try them! try them!* and I would pledge my existence upon the success, that one regiment of regular government would beat ten of consular anarchy. I do not mean to impeach the courage of the French nation as individual men, but to exhibit a principle in the moral laws of nature, that discipline must triumph over indiscipline, however superior the numbers; and France can have no military discipline, and no tactic but mob assault, in the absence of law and civic government.

I shall now proceed to address my Tocsin to all nations, locally and individually, to offer such instruction as may concentrate the force of the whole human species into a focus or organism of energy to enjoy the actual good,

good, and improve the perfectible or future good of the whole mundane system, which I call the worship of Nature.

To the American Nation.

I address myself first to you, Anglo-American republicans, because you have taken the lead on those perfectible theories of policy which propose to establish government on the solid basis of law, rather than on the mutable basis of men, measures, and expediency.

Nature has placed your country in a favourable position to make every experiment of human perfectibility. Insulated from the turbulent continent of Europe, exonerated from all her burdens and connexions, you are thus pledged to mankind to make your proportion of sacrifices of another kind to the general object of human happiness.

While your states and townships are making new and easy experiments of political and moral association, Congress must establish a system of constitutional law to concentrate the force of the union, and form a stable and protective civil power.

The civic monster of consular power which has arisen in Europe, will oblige you to change your foreign policy, and seek the alliance of Great Britain, the rampart of civilized nations.

Should the monster colonize Louisiana, it would not be for the purpose of commerce, which can have no value in a military government, though its name may be mentioned from time to time to amuse the people; its object would be the extension of consular power. The colony would be used as a means to annihilate British commerce and British subsistence; to cut off the

the communication of this island with both continents, and force Britain to renounce her foreign and protective power, to preserve her domestic independence.

Louisiana will form in America a nucleus of Jacobinism, that, favoured by the democracy of faction, the insurrection of the slaves, and the predatory disposition of the Indian nations, cannot fail, like the jackal to the lion, to be the procurer and purveyor of the civic monster, who will first fawn upon it with a Swiss protection, and then devour it.

The peal of my Tocsin addressed to the American nation, prescribing that conduct which I call the worship of Nature in enjoying the good of time, and perfectuating it in futurity to the whole mundane system, contains the following admonition :

The civic monster of France, hostile to the worship of Nature, by demolishing system and establishing contingency, pursuing power in the aggregation of nations to constitute a preponderancy of physical force, holds out this important admonition to all constitutional governments, viz. to identify as wide as possible, national population in similarity of laws, interests, and habits.

The identification of national power cannot be effected by simple alliance ; it must be produced by incorporation and union of power. America must send her deputies to the parliament of Great Britain, and follow the example of Ireland in dissolving its own identity in one common empire.

This union cannot be proposed or effected in America till the danger of French power has made an alarming progress in the southern states, facilitated by the savage habits of wild settlers, who, flattered by French anarchy with a relief from all taxes, establishments, and restraints upon the occupation of territory, will be seduced into

into French alliance, and complete, instantaneously, the overthrow of the southern states.

The settlement of Louisiana by the French; with a military colony, should be regarded by the northern states as an absolute invasion of the territory of America; an invitation should be sent by them instantly to every state in the confederacy to unite with England; and, if not complied with, they should declare themselves separated from the union, call to arms one hundred thousand militia, and send an embassy of incorporation to Great Britain.

Such are the political measures which place America in its true category of action and relation to surrounding nations, and constitute the worship of Nature in the preservation of the system of civilized life against the tremendous anarchy of contingency, threatened by the contention and uproar of military consular power.

My Tocsin intonates the word education, in a most peculiar and appropriate manner to the American people, to substitute the learning of sagacity to the learning of science; to teach men how to think rather than how to remember futile and useless knowledge; that is, to discipline the thoughts and faculties, to increase the power of the understanding, rather than by stuffing the memory to increase its useless and redundant matter.

Such a system of education I have myself invented, and shall publish in a short time as a necessary accessory to my Tocsin. I am happy in the mean time to observe, that the American people have, in some measure, anticipated the effects of my new system. This country, in the short period of one single century, has made more progress in the knowledge of man, than the European world has done in the whole epocha of human existence.

The European world, both ancient and modern, occupied with the absolute rules of physical science, has acquired an intellectual temperament of authority, dogma, and decision. The American mind, occupied with the study of the moral science in the practice of civic rights and the lecture of newspapers, has acquired a temperament of doubt in calculating the changeable and doubtful relations of policy, morality, and existence, which has enabled them to establish the most sublime and consummiate policy of social union ; and without the aid of universities, observatories, academies, books, pictures, and statues, they have discovered the great and only science of man and nature, viz.

That man is a constituent part of a great whole of being, co-equal, co-essential, and co-interested in the good of time and futurity ; that the dissolution of his body expands his interest from the point of self to the great circumference of the mundane system ; that is, the collected atoms, which, in life, are subject to the sensations of one body only—The same atoms are dispersed by death over the surface of the globe, to enter the agonizing modes of millions of oppressed subjects, millions of tyrannized slaves, and millions of tortured beasts.

Such is the philosophy of American peasants, that holds out such a tremendous lesson to tyrants of every description, politic, domestic, and natural ; and warns the demagogue and wit, or nicknamed philosopher, not to disturb the organism of society with his crude systems, to purchase a momentary fame at the price of ages of future misery, whose improvement depends on the slow advancement of human intellect, and not on revolutions of power, to accomplish the worship of Nature, which is the enjoyment of such a quantity of good in time as is

compatible with circumstances to graduate its perfectibility in futurity.

What has been the discovery of the star-gazers, butterfly-hunters, poets, painters, fiddlers, and logicians of Europe?—Equality, or the rights of man: which silly doctrine has generated the civic monster of consular power. These sages in science, and idiots in sagacity, have discovered in their profound philosophy, that the matter of a dissolving body goes to sleep to all eternity, and has no more interest in existence. Fools! look to the ocean; and when a wave or bubble breaks, say, what part of the water sleeps?

The imbecility of this opinion will be exposed by contemplating the breaking and rising of the waves, surfs, and bubbles of the sea. Would any man that was not quite an idiot entertain any notion of repose, either temporal or eternal, to any part of the sea when a surf, a wave, or a bubble breaks? That specific mode of water is but transmuted into the surrounding modes, and undergoes, in new and divided forms, the agitations of its previous action.

Just so it is in the great ocean of matter, the bubble man, which breaks its specific identity, transmutes its atoms into all surrounding modes, and must feel the agitation of its previous action; nor can the loss of memory by the dispersion of its parts at all affect the sufferance of evil in its new combinations in the sensitive system.

Thus we discover that the philosophy of eternal sleep, and the policy of holy insurrection, founded on a chimerical equality of rights, has degraded the power of science in Europe, while the philosophy of reason, and the doctrine of civil liberty, have been carried to their acme by the sagacity of unlettered peasants in America.

The

The above reflections confirm the utility and importance of my new system of education, to teach sagacity instead of science, to think rather than to know, and to increase the power rather than the matter of human intellect, as the only means of the attainment of happiness in time, and the progress of perfectibility in futurity.

With a most clangorous peal of my Tocsin I take my leave of the American people, recommending to every nation and individual that understands the doctrine of the omoousia, or the unity of all nature, to regard America in its true category of human energy in the great worship of Nature (the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, in the mundane system in time and futurity), the leading point of the ascending arc of human perfectibility, and a preparatory asylum for mankind, should the continent of Europe be overwhelmed in alternate despotism and anarchy, ignorance and superstition.

I shall now interpret the language of my Tocsin,
addressed

To the British Nation.

Protective and generative power of nations ! substantial trunk of the scions of civil liberty, transplanted in colonies over all the world : Nature, regarding the island of Great Britain as the citadel of human energy to effect the good of time, and advance the perfectibility of futurity, has surrounded her favourite isle with the ocean, both to guard it from the moral contagion of continental slaves, and to protect its moral energy from the physical force of numbers, aggregated by military despotism.

The title of Protector of Nations is not only confirmed by the uniform record of history, but by the irrefutable evidence of her own constitution. Her wars upon the continent were all undertaken to preserve the established limits of empires, and thereby support the balance of political power, in which her own safety was involved; while her constitution and insular situation were a sure pledge against all views of conquest over the territory of her allies, and made her the safe and disinterested arbiter of the civilized world.

The second title of Generator of Nations, is evinced by her colonies. America, her first-born offspring, seems to have supplanted her parent in the advancement of human energy. The colonies of India are gradually advancing towards civil organism, while Botany Bay is preparing a wonderful testimony to corroborate that of America, that the scum and refuse of a British population are more worthy and more capable of establishing civil liberty than all the poets, fiddlers, and painters of continental nations: and I will venture to add, that the verdict of a jury of British pickpockets at Botany Bay, would carry in it more liberality, justice, and disinterestedness of sentiment, than the sentence of the most exalted tribunals of the continent of Europe.

The powers of the continent have always made war to aggrandize their own empire (pretexting the balance of power), which their military and despotic forms of government facilitated; and their weaker allies have been swallowed up in the vortex of their ambition. Witness the fate of Poland, the republics of Dantzig and Thorn, and the subjugated allies of the civic monster of consular power.

What are the colonies of the continental powers of France, Spain, Holland, &c.?—Dunghills of human depravity,

depravity, degeneracy, cruelty, and despotism: no republican confederacies appear, as in America, to establish and advance human energy; the efforts of the parent state are exerted to resist all establishment and all progress, and to retain the colonists in ignorance and slavery, and the natives of the country under their cruel oppression.

Nature seems to have reserved to her favourite isle, and denied to all other countries, the capacity of generation in colonies to mark her predilection for the preservation and perfectible power of England, opposed to the destructive and degenerative power of continental nations.

I shall now form the peal of my Tocsin in such tones of counsel and admonition as may direct the conduct of British energy in the worship of Nature; that is, to co-operate with all the intelligible powers of existence to produce the greatest sum of good in time, and its perfectuation in futurity to the whole mundane system.

Nature has bestowed an excellence of intellectual temperament upon the British people, in order to qualify them to garrison her citadel of human energy. This temperament is a peculiar propensity to thought or contemplation, which being exercised in the moral science, by dwelling long on one and the same proposition, till all its relations are discovered, and those relations approximated in doubtful equations instead of the dogmatical decisions of physical science, that quality of *prudence* is generated which the ancients called, the *numen* of human energy, to discover the difficult union of practice and theory, to enjoy and perfectuate the good of time and futurity in a comprehensive view of the cognoscible relations of man and nature.

This British temperament of thought, generated by Saxon institutions of popular government, nurtured by insular solitude, progressing in the administration of the laws

laws by juries, and the debates of popular assemblies, exercised in the lecture of newspapers and polemic controversies, written with unbounded freedom, energizing by study and travels, ultimately produces that high degree of mental sensibility, or consciousness of perception, which seizes upon the nice and solid discrimination of things, and constitutes the highest degree of intellectual power called sagacity, prudence, or wisdom.

The inhabitants of the continent, pursuing the knowledge of the arts, and physical instead of moral science, have improved their memoirs more than their judgment, and become loquacious, dogmatic, and thoughtless. The arts and physical sciences are all peremptory in their rules, and demand no exercise of doubt to generate the quality of thoughtfulness, the necessary faculty of moral disquisition. Hence all those philosophic crudities of eternal sleep, holy insurrection, and algebraic logic, by Condorcet and Kant.

The characteristic thoughtfulness of the British people has generated a physical force, that, if properly disciplined and put in action, would enable those exalted islanders to subdue the whole world with as much ease as the civilized subdue all savage nations.

Extreme consciousness of sensibility of perception generates sympathy, that is, a capacity to feel our relation with surrounding beings in the sensitive system. This produces a spirit of association or sympathy, that characterizes the British people as much as the quality of thoughtfulness.

This spirit of association, nurtured by education, and exercised by political institutes, is exemplified in the military prowess of the soldiers and sailors before the late disastrous war of the revolution: the assaults of the British army were at all times irresistible; and there

was

was not a regiment in the British service that did not think itself equal to five of the enemy: and when the occasion offered, the opinion became the cause of its own confirmation.

I have myself seen prodigies of power performed by small parties of British sailors in foreign sea-ports. A single boat's crew, armed with sticks, I have seen drive before them a whole town armed with knives, swords, and fire-arms. In contemplating these prodigies of power, I have observed that, in all foreign countries, the nature of education and government deprives the individual of all sensibility, and consequently of all sympathy. The absence of these qualities destroys all spirit of association; and when hundreds are opposed to units, they become like a field of corn to a single sheaf, which, bound together, would level the separate blades to the earth wherever it moved forward.

Thus it is with the British people opposed to foreigners of every nation: their sympathy unites them into a sheaf, while the want of it separates their foes into a field of corn. Every thoughtful Englishman, united in a body with others, has an exalted perception, which shews him all the distant relations of self with associated beings, and an animated consciousness identifies his own force with that of his companions, and multiplies the relative force of self and others into a Colossus formed of thousands, which the divided numbers of all the armies of Europe could not resist.

To this mode of reasoning, the victories of the French army in the late war will, no doubt, be objected, to prove the existence of a spirit of association, without which no military power can be successful.

In reply to this objection, I must direct the attention of my readers to the great difference that exists between

the spirit of association generated by sympathy, and artificial association generated by military tactics.

To illustrate this, I will suppose two armies of the above description advancing to meet each other in battle; the naturally associated army would resist the onset, and every individual soldier, identifying the force of his comrades with his own, would oppose at every point an immutable firmness, which would break to pieces the tactical association as a rock the waves of the sea.

An army associated by tactics alone, unconnected with sympathy, cannot form a real assault; their advance can only be a feint, or gasconade, to throw the defending army into consternation, which if it fails, they must retreat after a very feeble assault, as was exemplified by the battle of Alexandria in Egypt, where the superiority of moral association in sympathy triumphed over Gallic tactic, indisciplined gasconade, and insulated self without sympathy.

The British people, inured from their infancy to athletic sports and pugilistic contention, are giants when opposed to foreigners in unarmed contests. I have seen a single Englishman force his way through a French mob, by knocking down with his fist every one that approached him. And I have been told from the most respectable authority of French officers, that an English deserter would drive from the barracks the whole regiment, until he was opposed by the arms of the centinels.

If such is the prowess of unarmed contest, it is no great presumption to suppose that Englishmen must be very superior to all other nations in the contest of battle; and this superiority of bodily force seems a gift of Nature intended to support the moral energy of a nation which forms the garrison of civilized life; and, the directive

rective power of human energy in the worship of Nature; that is, the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, in time and futurity.

My Tocsin, in a most clangorous peal, conjures the British officers to profit of this characteristic prowess of the soldiers, and close immediately with the enemy, and thereby make victory certain.

The Gallic conscriptions of boys can fire their muskets and artillery as hard as the stout men of Britain; but when these advance in sympathetic union with the bayonet, the Gallic children, void of sympathy, must save themselves by flight.

Let the standard of Britain bear this motto—*Forward and Close*. Thus the British armies, bearing on their standard in two words the consummate table of instruction, conduct, tactic, and encouragement, the instrument of military force would be accomplished, and efficient to support the energy of British power to save the civilized world.

I must address a very loud peal of my Tocsin upon the present incautious and defenceless state of the metropolis.

The Tower of London is not intended as a post of defence against an external but an internal enemy; that is, the disaffected and dangerous rabble of the metropolis. The lower orders of the people before the epocha of the French revolution, were the most loyal part of the community; but the licentiousness and folly of opposition papers, duped by French theories, have perverted the English temperament of the people.

None of those loyal huzzas are heard for the king; no animating cries in public places for “Britons strike home,” or “God save the King.” When some honest Briton (who has too much good sense to be the dupe

of French theories) calls for "Rule Britannia," he is answered by some knave or fool with the call of the Marseillois Hymn, or Ca Ira, though these very tunes excite nothing but horror, shame, and remorse in the minds of the French people who invented them.

At such a crisis of plebeian disaffection in the metropolis, what ignorance, what stupor, what infatuation in Ministers can keep the Tower of London, the depository of two hundred thousand stand of arms and ammunition, in a state so accessible, that a thousand of the rabble armed with knives, might approach the gate, either by land or by water, and seize the garrison before they could beat to arms?

A single iron gate placed before the drawbridge, would render the Tower impregnable to all sudden assault, and with but little interruption to the intercourse of passengers.

The gates should be opened three times a-day, at stated hours. When the outer barrier is opened to admit the passengers, the inner barrier must be kept shut; and when the whole company have got between the two barrier gates, the outer one must be shut, and then the inner one be opened. This access must be inspected by a captain of the guard, who must keep the key in his own possession.

The defenceless state of the national treasury, the Bank, is another impeachment of the imbecility of human reason in its most exalted state of English prudence and thoughtfulness. The treasure, instead of being kept under the guard of one hundred men, should be deposited in the Tower. Fifty resolute blackguards, armed with knives, might rush into the guard-room, and ^{des}destroy or disarm the soldiers.

The Bank is the perpetual lure to all the tavern and
mob

mob treasons : and if the Tower was rendered inaccessible to sudden assault by the simple means of a double barrier, and the Bank treasure deposited therein, we should hear no more of alehouse plots and rabble patriots.

Should these salutary intonations of the Tocsin have as little effect as my private letters to Ministers on the same subject, I tremble for the fate of the civilized world, should the citadel and Bank of England be taken by a mob, as a signal for the invasion of the civic monster who suborned them.

The intonations of my Tocsin addressed to the legislature of Britain, convey the following counsel to effect the preservation of that sublime constitution adapting itself to the moral temperament of society, growing through the slow progress of reform and experience in the lapse of ages, and holding out to mankind the criterion of practical policy, while its colonial offsprings advance in experiments of social perfectibility, and thus rendering the instrument of human agency consummate and categoric in the universal machine of Nature.

FIRST COUNSEL.

Guard against all extension of popular power in the tripartite and delicate mechanism of mixed government. The democracy of the House of Commons possessing the power of the whole property of the nation, is virtually omnipotent, and nothing prevents the anarchy of its action but the influence of the crown.

Statesmen who have more virtue than wisdom are disposed to diminish this influence ; but the magnanimous minister who dares do good without fear of the suspicion of others from the purity of his own conscience, must support this necessary evil to purchase

patriotism of ignorant and selfish factions, and control the preponderancy of democracy in the constitution.

Members of parliament in possession of property, grow tired of wealth, and seek excitement of new desires in the pursuit of power: and we have seen in the most dangerous crisis of the country, dukes, lords, and gentlemen, joining a democratic faction, while democracy was threatening the continent of Europe with the loss of the social state.

If men of property can pursue the fleeting power of democratic chiefship at the risk of life, peace, and social order, how intoxicating must be the passion of even that low ambition which prefers the power of the mob to the opinion of the respectable part of the community; and how necessary and beneficent is the influence of the crown, that can alone oppose a dyke to its devastating torrent!

We frequently hear the partisans of demagogues exclaim, How is it possible for a man of his wealth to seek the destruction of civil power? To this it may be replied, How often do we see men under the influence of violent passions pursuing the road to inevitable misery?

Locke relates an anecdote of a man afflicted with sore eyes, who, when admonished not to drink, lest it should cause blindness, answered, "That he preferred his liquor to his eye-sight." This, however, was a false declaration: for, had a person presented himself with a bond in one hand to secure a perpetual supply of the most delicious wines, and in the other hand an instrument to inflict blindness as soon as the bond was accepted, there is no possibility of doubt where the choice would have fallen.

This drunkard, in the pursuit of his passion for liquor,
amused

amused his reason with the table of chances, that blindness might possibly not be the result of intoxication, though he could not but observe the most evident danger. The habitude of drinking being imperious, reason would thus be amused, or kept silent, and his friends would be astonished at the temerity of his action.

Such is the conduct of all demagogues and democratic leaders ; they prefer the draughts of intoxicating power of a day, to the very existence of the social state, reconciled to their choice by the chapter of accidents, and the powerful influence of habitude silencing the operations of reason.

The popular power in the tripartite constitution of England is sufficiently strong to effect a just temperament in its monarchical and aristocratic colleagues. It exists unorganized, and acts virtually in county meetings, assembling all the property, information, and respectability of the people at large ; these assemblies may sometimes be called into action by intriguing factions ; but then their character is immediately discoverable, and can never be confounded with those numerous and respectable assemblies which made peace with America, saved the constitution from the artful invasion of democracy, in the form of an India bill, and constitute the virtual, efficient, temperate, useful, and constitutional sovereignty of the people.

I shall conclude this topic with one single observation, which will damn democracy in the opinion of all respectable men, and confine it to its present station, the bosom of ardent and inexperienced youth, thoughtless and ambitious men of talent, and the great multitude of the rabble. My observation is this ; that at all the meetings of democrats, whether at the Crown and Anchor, or at the Goose and Gridiron, they congratulated

tulated their leaders upon their secession from Parliament, because a minority of thirty-five members could not force their fanatical opinions of liberty upon a majority of two hundred and fifty members, supported by the virtual sovereignty of the people (the freeholders of the whole landed property of the country), acknowledged in the speeches of these demagogues, who used the phrase, infatuation of the people: thus, one hundred fanatics at a tavern meeting, would impose their silly theories upon millions of their fellow-subjects, with the aid of a tumultuous rabble, and are not ashamed to insult the understanding of the public by assuming the name of patriots and friends to liberty.

I conjure that part of the community, whose inexperience and ignorance make them the dupes of democratic leaders, to consider and examine seriously whence their oppressive taxes on porter and windows have arisen.

The democratic party removed the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the wealthy by a repeal of the income-tax, instead of a just remodification; this repeal, they foresaw, would remove the burden to the shoulders of the poor and middling classes, and execute their necessary and primary principle, to keep the people in a state of discontent, as the proper medium of democratic influence.

My Tocsin announces to the poor and middling classes of the community, that they never will be relieved from their partial and oppressive burdens, till the present French and unprincipled democracy is extinct. The country, or what is called the independent party in Parliament, will never oppose the measures of Administration, while democracy is watching the favourable moment to invade it with treachery, treason, and revolution: the freeholders of the country, in a state of alarm, will

will pay their taxes with implicit resignation, and volunteers will start forth in towns to support those very taxes which impoverish their families, and deprive them of the comfort of domestic life.

Who but madmen would open the door of the house to the cries of hospitality, when they see a banditti of thieves laying wait to rush in ? O poor deluded countrymen ! desert or despise the banditti of democracy, or they will reduce you to the miserable state of the French populace, to quit your instruments of commercial and comfortable industry, in order to take up arms, to be transported to the deserts of Asia ; and there, deprived of health, comfort, and subsistence, devote life in a scene of wounds, bloodshed, and massacre, against the innocent natives, in the cause of some unprincipled and desperate faction, to triumph in luxury, depravity, and tyranny, and to extend this deluge of human misery in their own country to the boundaries of the whole earth.

In all countries the energy of civil power is the protector of the poor ; this it is which forces the rich to support the burden of taxation ; this it is which establishes workhouses and contributions of aid to industry in times of dearth and scarcity ; and those demagogues who would diminish the energy of the monarch, are enemies to the poor, exemplified to demonstration in the revolution of France, where the monarchy was lost, by attempting to force the rich to come to the relief of the poor, and to meliorate their condition, by ceding their feudal and oppressive rights.

There is not a monarch upon the continent of Europe that would not rejoice to humble the rich and relieve the poor, if he had powers enough to control and command, without fear of resistance, the great body of wealthy proprietors.

The Empress of Russia declared, she did as much for the poor as she dared to do, but not so much as she wished to do. The conduct of the German Emperor Joseph was modelled upon her example. The King of Sweden has produced a revolution in his state, with no other object than to humble the condition of the rich, and meliorate that of the poor. The King of Denmark was rendered absolute by the poorer classes of his subjects, to liberate them from the oppression of the rich.

My Tocsin, in a clangorous peal of intonation, holds out this important admonition to England—*Maintain the energy of the monarchy.* This cannot be effected by any reform in the constitution, but by the improvement of the sagacity and intellectual power of the yeomanry, or sovereignty of the people. If this body would support the energy of the monarchy to lay taxes upon the faculty, instead of the indigence of the community, England would become a Colossus of political power, that would bid defiance to the enemies, and afford protection to the friends of human nature.

The politic body of a community resembles that of a porter, whose strength is multiplied by the position of his knot. The European porter placing a knot upon his shoulders, brings into action all the stronger muscles of the body, and spares the weak; by which means he is enabled to carry a weight that he has not the power to lift.

The Arabian porter multiplies his force beyond that of the European, by placing the knot upon his hips, and leaving all the weaker muscles of the upper half of the body without any labour or effort; and thus he is enabled to carry a weight which six men cannot lift.

The politic body, after the example of the porter, should place the knot of finance upon the opulent muscles

of the community, and spare the weak muscles of indigence; by which means it would stand under and carry such a burden of public expense, as would crush it without this knot of financial economy.

This knot can never be imposed on the body politic but by the energy of the executive power, supported by the yeomanry. We every day witness the laborious efforts of a minister to impose taxes on opulence. With what shameless rejoicing we observed the income-tax repealed, and its substitute laid wholly upon the indigence of the community, just recovered from the pressure of extreme scarcity!

Ought we to wonder at the influence of demagogues, the increase of jacobinism, and the French nomophobia, when the blessings of social order are so counterpoised by the oppression of indigence, in throwing the whole burden of taxes on the middling and lower classes of the people?

The loudest admonitory notes of my Toesin, addressed to the British nation, convey this important counsel:

Construct the knot of finance, and impose it on the strong muscles of the body politic. Should these refuse their functions, let the Parliament be dissolved, and the yeomanry, as in the case of the India bill, will fly to the aid of the monarchy, by the return of more patriotic and intelligent members.

The poor of this country demand the relief of another alarming grievance, which is the oppression of monopoly, to enhance the price of subsistence beyond the acquisition of labour, and, by destroying the roots of the social plant, prepare its inevitable dissolution.

This grievance, I fear, can have no relief from Government; it can be remedied only by the improvement of intellectual power to increase sympathy, probity, fortitude,

tude, and wisdom, by which man discovers his relation to nature, and becomes unwilling to promote any evil or oppression to trouble the great ocean of being into which he must dissolve, and in whose agitations *he*, that is, the same matter dispersed in different identities, must again renovate.

The evil of time, as well as futurity, is powerfully imminent in this avarice. Would an affamished people take arms against an invading enemy, to protect the property of an avaricious and selfish yeomanry, whose land would be made the lure of plunder to the conquerors, and of vain relief to the oppressed peasantry? Ireland holds out a dreadful example of the oppression of land-holders, which brings such a mass of misery upon the people, that all the beneficence of the English legislature cannot relieve, while these stupid bigots rebel against the protective power, and, like the brute, bite the stick instead of the hand that directs it.

There is no condition or function in the great machine of the politic body that has misery or evil attached to it. The pauper in the workhouse may be as happy as the King, if he is treated with humanity; the servant as the master, if treated with lenity; and the tenant as the lord, if treated with justice: the interest of all is identified in time and futurity; and the virtues of sympathy, probity, fortitude, and wisdom, cultivated by education, must produce the supplementary energy of civil power, which law cannot effect, and which can alone unite all conditions in one common interest; such a state of well-being as cements the union of the body politic to render Great Britain the rampart of the civilized world, and the citadel of human energy, in the great mechanism of the universe.

I cannot cease the intonation of my Tocsin without giving one loud peal of applause to the greatest minister

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the world ever produced—William Pitt, the greater offspring of a great ancestor. This prodigy of civil magistracy conducted the affairs of state through the most disastrous crisis of human policy, that ever threatened the peace of nations, or surpassed the faculties of human wisdom.

Surrounded by a host of national and insidious enemies, deserted by vanquished allies, and assaulted by a most desperate faction and unprincipled foe, this great minister, by a confidence in his virtue, awakened and united all the respectable and wealthy part of the community, in a co-operation of sacrifice of property and exertion of power, that saved the British nation, and gave by that means a respite to the extinction of social life.

This illustrious and unparalleled statesman, having embarrassed his circumstances in the expenditure of etiquette to support the dignity of his office, was obliged to sell his estate, and retire to live upon a small farm. The public papers, though they had adopted all his opinions from experience, which had manifested their wisdom, made his poverty and embarrassment a subject of mirth and insult.

This great minister and practical philosopher, who received the thanks of Parliament for saving the country, and the acknowledgment of most respectable merchants, that private property owed all its security to his efforts—this exalted character, the saviour of social life, now lives in retirement and embarrassment, with the peace and joy of conscious worth, that no circumstance can deprive him of, a lamentable and singular example of the ingratitude and imbecility of the most exalted human nature—*the wisest and best of mankind scoffed at and neglected by the wisest and best of nations.*

To save the character of the British nation from the indelible opprobrium that will eternally attach to it when the name of Pitt* shall be mentioned to honour human history, I propose a subscription of 200,000*l.* the one half of which to endow and build an hospital for the support of all orphan children, who may lose their fathers in the battles of their country, to be called the Statue of William Pitt, which no impious rabble will dare to mutilate, and, while it conveys the memory of the hero, will exemplify the work of the man in its benificent and grateful institutions.

The other half of 100,000*l.* I propose should be laid out in the purchase of an estate, and this to be presented to Mr. Pitt as a mark of national gratitude, but not as a recompense for his services, which no property could retribute. This subscription should be filled up by opulent men only, lest the efforts of generous and honest indigence (which, I have no doubt, if applied to, would raise that sum in a few hours) might excite repugnance of acceptance in his noble mind.

This subscription would be signed by every Prince on the continent of Europe, as an act of gratitude and acknowledgment of the salvation of social life, if human reason had been exercised in sagacity rather than science, to make men wise, and not merely witty, and to conduct them to real knowledge through the study of man and nature; and, till this sole purpose of intellectual power is effected, reason must stand below instinct on the scale of animal perfectibility.

I recommend to individuals of all European nations, whose sagacity and intellectual powers may be advanced

* If my philosophy is not the true constitution of nature, the man who sacrifices himself to his country must be an idiot.

in the adoption of my new system of education, to emigrate to America, whose various institutions of moral, domestic, and political life, will open a progressive scale of exercise to the votaries of sympathy, probity, and fortitude, which increase in the ratio of intellectual power, from the gross perception of savage sense, into the generalizing energy of a civic philosopher.

In proportion as the individual advances in sagacity and virtue, he will find it essential to his happiness to improve his social institutions. The inhabitant of the continent may advance these in sectarian and domestic society, without interference or hostility to the government; and should this oppose their establishment, they must emigrate, and not attempt to revolutionize their own country after the example of French Jacobins, who attempted to force the silly theories of a sect upon the practical habits and opinions of a vast population.

Let those individuals in England, whose intellectual powers may increase so as to render the practical usages of refined and complicate policy disgusting and intolerable, emigrate to America, instead of caballing with licentious clubs, to impose the opinions of a sect upon the great body of the people; by a disastrous revolution, which after much bloodshed, anarchy, and despotism, must return again to the point from whence it set out, public habitudes, temperament, and opinions.

The emigration of the wise and virtuous would then insulate and expose the clubs of fools and scoundrels at the Crown and Anchor, associated with those at the Goose and Gridiron, the Hog in the Pound, and the Cat and Bagpipes. And the great arch-demagogue, who makes use of this banditti of dissolute apprentices, suborned soldiers, and Cold Bath Fields patriots, holding a purse from the secret service money of France, to decry

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the union, to declaim against the British press, the last resource of injured nations, and to call out Peace ! while the enemy of nations and nature is preparing the desolation of Europe ;—this arch-demagogue, whom fools have dubbed with the name of a great man, because he made a great noise, without ever effecting one wise measure in all his political career, would then appear a real monster, by endeavouring to undermine British power, the rampart of social life, and the last hopes of the human species, to enjoy a few years of power and wealth, surrounded by the applause of the mob, and the hisses of all the respectable and worthy part of the community.

I should not have condescended in these pages of philosophy to have taken any notice of an unprincipled demagogue ; but having heard compliments paid to his talents from men of talent, I appeal to all honest and sagacious men, whether the coalition, the regency, the India Bill, and the late speech in Parliament, do not exemplify a dereliction of principle and defect of talent. The man who can declare, that he would prefer being a slave to a conqueror rather than a free general to a nation of free merchants, may be a worthy representative of the rabble, or a professor of politics in the French Institute (qualified no doubt by his sentiments explained on a late trip to Paris) ; but he is unworthy of being a member of the British legislature, or to bear the name of an Englishman.

I shall take the liberty to suggest my suspicions of the arch-demagogue's late trip and long residence in Paris. My readers will no doubt be able to recollect the conduct of all the demagogues in all those countries that have been absorbed into the vortex of the civic monster. These desperate leaders having received a lettered education, that enabled them to talk rather than to think, put themselves at the head of a rabble which became contemptible

temptible and odious to all the respectable part of the community; having lost the confidence of the virtuous, they attached themselves to the power of France, and by betraying their own country into its hands, the vicious and the ignorant have become the governors of the virtuous and the wise in all these miserable and enslaved countries.

I think it a wise and justifiable suspicion, to suppose the English arch-demagogue went to Paris to receive instructions upon the plan of indivisibility of the western family of the world; and upon those means of support from French powers which were to place the tavern associations over the respectable assemblies of the legislature; and, after the example of Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, to place the vicious and ignorant French partisans over the wise and virtuous patriots of the country.

Democracy is rendered so contemptible from experience, in all countries, that it can have no hopes of success but from the power of France. But when I contemplate the unbounded power of the Consul to employ the whole treasure of the country in secret service; that is, subornation and corruption of other countries; I tremble for the fate of the civilized world. I am not at all consoled by reflecting on the contemptible state of the party who support it, and, according to a late Minister's speech, numerous in taverns, but nothing in the Strand. Domestic contempt impels them to foreign support, and the thoughtless licentiousness of their character disposes them to the most desperate enterprises.

I do not suspect the arch-demagogue of receiving money or hire; but I maintain, with the conceptions of common sense, that his presence at those levees in Paris, which true-hearted Britons regard with contempt and abhorrence,

abhorrence, spoke this plain language : " I the arch-representative of the English rabble, by paying homage to your power, give you full assurance that the tavern-patriots of England, like those of Switzerland, are ready to co-operate in the great end of advancing consular power, as the oak round which their ivy is to grow : that upon my return to Parliament I will mention French ambition in soothing terms ; and call for peace, peace, peace, till the whirlpool of consular power combining and swallowing up, one after another, the lesser lakes of Europe in its own torrent, shall burst its dykes and inundate the whole civilized world.

" I will draw artful and insidious comparisons between the arms of conquering heroes and the interested wars of merchants ; and while honest men are puzzled where to rest their greatest abhorrence, when the page of history presents the wars of tyrants thirsting after blood and slaves, or sordid Dutch merchants selling the princes of Java to increase their pocket-money ; while history leaves mankind in this doubtful predicament, I will seize the sly occasion to make it a parallel question, whether the wars of France, to overthrow social order and brutalize the human species, are not to be preferred to the protective wars of England, to support social order, to generate civic nations into colonization, and to save the world ; the first being a nation of soldiers and conquerors, and the last nothing but merchants and men.

" Thus will I pursue, and obtain by sophistry and cunning, what I have long failed to obtain by eloquence and wisdom, the throne of a day, though the loss of social life should pay the price of it."

The Tocsin addressed to the Swedish Nation.

My order of appeal to nations will be conducted by the scale of their energies, and not that of titles or magnitude. After the civic population of America and Great Britain, Sweden takes the lead among continental nations in civic energy; that is, the attemperament of sovereign power, by constitutional laws to guard the identity of public and private interest in law, liberty, justice, and national independence.

I have no particular measures of policy to recommend to this nation; and I should have classed it in my general address to dependant nations, had not its exalted rank of energy demanded that homage of attention which I hope will draw the regard of all states, to protect its advancing energy towards the perfectibility of the huinan species, the common interest of all mankind.

Sweden stands in the neighbourhood of a powerful nation, that could invade and conquer it, and consequently force upon the people a system of laws incongenial to their temperament, foreign to their customs, and contrasted with their principles: such a conquest would involve the country in extreme misery, and excite in it a perpetual jealousy of the Russian empire.

The civic monster, France, is too far removed to awaken apprehension; and it is much to be dreaded, that the jealousy of neighbouring states, of conquest, and foreign laws, will conceal from them the distant advancement of French power, that will overwhelm the civic state of mankind, and substitute to civil power a camp discipline, that will organize a perpetual alternation of military despotism and civic anarchy; a state more to

be dreaded than the transfer of the laws of Asia to the European empire.

A change of legislation might be grievously felt on the sudden, but time would wear it into reconciliation, and new laws would only change the mode of personal security ; but military power, establishing itself on a system of expediency, would abolish all law and civil power, and perpetuate a state of anarchy, that no custom could reconcile, and no rising generations be inured to by habit and education.

Sweden, and all the dependant and lesser states of Europe, have but one remedy to preserve them from the encroachment of neighbours, or the vortex of the civic monster ; which is, to labour with all their influence and counsels to establish a congress of civilized nations as the only barrier to the power and the ambition of the civic monster of France, and a proper check to the lesser danger of neighbouring encroachments.

Europe has been for many ages a virtual confederacy of civilized nations, whose laws of nations and general policy to preserve a balance of power have guarantied to every state or member, whether strong or feeble, those customs, laws, and habits which education has found to be the criterion of their happiness, and their organism in the general machine of human society.

The French revolution has destroyed this confederacy, and removed the barrier which secured to nations an appropriate medium of existence, conformable to custom, education, and climate. The military discipline of French anarchists is now transferred to the peaceful shepherds of the Alps, to the merchants of Holland, the farmers of Italy, and the mechanics of Germany ; and when these oppressed people complain, that the civic monster has given the laws of the forest to the fish in the

sea,

sea, and *vice versa*, they are answered by bayonets and brigades.

My Tocsin, in a loud peal to feeble and inferior nations, recommends this motto to be inscribed on their standards :

A Confederacy of Nations is the Guardian of the social State.

Should this confederacy be effected, and the peace and prosperity of nations preserved, let the great instrument of education be set at work, to discipline the powers of the mind in sagacity, rather than the matter of the mind in science.

Such a system of education I have invented, and shall shortly publish for the benefit of mankind ; it demands no innovation in the present mode, but only exhibits to masters and tutors the neglected scene of the play-field ; whose sports, games, and contentions, might be conducted after an happy art to inculcate sagacity in the skilful conduct of games, and to discipline the will to subordination and order, in strict obedience and observance of their rules ; and thus, by teaching men how to think rather than how to learn the arts and science, every subject would be disposed and enabled to view the complicated relations of good and evil ; and thus acquiring a habit of contemplation, to meditate, deliberate, and examine the evidence of all questions. Those silly theories of natural liberty, natural equality, and natural society, would no longer be made the subjects of inflammatory declamations of demagogues, to excite the ignorance and fanaticism of the people to insurrection and anarchy.

A Peal of the Tocsin addressed to Austria.

The conduct of Austria in the Russian campaign against France has held out an impressive admonition to the continental powers on the subject of their partial jealousies.

The Austrian commanders, jealous of the power of Russia, and instructed no doubt by their orders, deserted the successful army of Russians in the campaign of Switzerland, and turned the tide of victory in favour of France. This fatal jealousy, adopted rather than opposed by the British Cabinet, disgusted the Emperor of Russia, who withdrew his victorious forces, and left Europe to its fate; which has produced a civic monster that must swallow up all social order, unless a confederacy of nations should be formed (in a bond of common interest and sacred pledge of fidelity, free of all jealousy) to oppose and destroy it.

The Russian campaign was the auspicious tide in the ocean of human affairs that was neglected, to have placed the Bourbons on the throne of France. The armies of France move perpetually in a torrent of impulse, either forward or backward, as victory or defeat attends them. The Russians had thrown them into the torrent of defeat; and if Austria by desertion had not exposed the extreme inferiority of numbers of the Russians, a defeated French army would never have rallied, and Europe would have been saved in the re-establishment of those systems which the experience of ages has prescribed, and which the principles of civilized life demand, as indispensable to the repose of nations, and identified with the moral temperament and improvement of human nature.

This admonitory lesson of the stupid jealousy of Austria,

tria, which brought the enemy to the gates of its capital, and endangered the annihilation of the Imperial throne, carries in it such meridian evidence of precept and example, that if the continental powers do not profit by, their minds must be in a state of infantine imbecility.

The Russian, Austrian, and Prussian empires have been for ages in hostility, and not an inch of territory lost in their contentions; while the civic monster in one campaign has swallowed up more kingdoms and republics than would equal their united empires.

In the face of this awful catastrophe, these nations are quarrelling for the orts of the monster (indemnities), which he has thrown down to amuse them, while he advances to seize upon new kingdoms and republics as a necessary aliment to his voracious and desolating ambition.

In the last century the ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth, by adding Flanders to his empire, excited the jealousy and alarm of all the states of Europe: whereas the Consular ambition which has now added to France the immense conquests of Italy, Switzerland, Flanders, Germany, Holland, with Spain and Portugal in absolute dependance, seems to have a contrary effect; to divert jealousy from France, and confine it to a partial jealousy of each other. Among the independent empires of Europe this infatuation of princes must be attributed to the stupor of consternation, or profound hypocrisy, which puts on the aspect of hostility towards each other, to guard against the suspicions of the civic monster, who would punish their frowns and fears with the immediate loss of empire.

The sounds of my Tocsin call loudly upon Austria to set on foot, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, the confederacy of Russia and England with her own empire;

Prussia

Prussia cannot be made a party, because its fears and unprincipled policy would betray the secret negotiation to the monster.

Prussia, kept in a state of neutrality, would wait the issue of the war, and would join its forces to the triumphant party, with the most ardent wishes for the success of the confederacy, which it would be cautious to conceal. But should the civic monster triumph, it would join its forces, to fatten upon the orts of its conquests, and to purchase the privilege of being the last morsel for its insatiate appetite of ambition and conquest.

The civic counsel contained in the peal of my Tocsin addressed to the Austrian empire, is, to suppress all inflammatory publications, and to encourage all calm and philosophic inquiries into the nature of moral truth: but above all, to direct in the regulations of all schools, that the hours of play should be equal to the hours of study; and that the master, or his usher, should attend in the play-field, to teach sagacity in the skill of play, and discipline of the will, in an orderly, benevolent, and fair execution of the laws of play. Thus the discipline of the powers of the understanding would keep pace with the methodizing of the matter; that is, sagacity would advance in the parallel of science, and the contemplation of conclusions with the observation of facts. Thus men would be taught to think as well as to know; and subjects no longer being the dupes of moral or political fanatics, the social plant would preserve its complicated organism; the roots, branches, trunk, and leaves, satisfied with the necessity of their subordinate functions, would circulate the sap of knowledge and sagacity, to produce the fruit of actual and perfectible good in the sensitive system; unaided by any didactic rules of doctrine, the mind, like the plant, would vegetate into melioration.

A Peal of the Tocsin addressed to the Russian Empire.

Russia stands in a high predicament upon the scale of human energy, to effect the worship of Nature, the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, in time and futurity, in the mundane system; surrounded by Asiatic nations, whose extreme ignorance makes human life a state of torture and misery; one half of the species, the female sex, shut up in dungeons; the male sex exposed to the most atrocious military despotism; no law, no justice, no security for life or property, which is often forced from subjects and foes by instruments of torture, which inflict death after all has been surrendered.

O Alexander, what a momentous station of human energy Nature has placed you in! The civilized nations of the western hemisphere implore your aid to save Europe from the jaws of a civic monster, that would extinguish social life, and introduce the military barbarism of Scythian ages.

Hasten then to negotiate a secret confederacy with England and Austria, that may chain and destroy the monster, and save the western world.

Extend your protective power to the Asiatic nations, that, the bloody tyranny being extinguished, the natives, in the bosom of peace and security, may turn their minds to the education of sagacity instead of knowledge; by which mean the plant of social organism will vegetate to fructification, through a spontaneous process of improving laws and institutions; keeping a parallel with the improvement of intellectual power in the establishment of the press, which superstition opposes in those countries, and which can be effected only by European conquest.

While you turn your regard to these important relations

tions of self, in the mundane system, you must not overlook the centre of its power at home. Take care of your senate, and do not divide with it too much of your personal authority ; the best of your subjects have more knowledge than thought ; that is, knowledge has filled the mind with an ample observation of facts in literature and science. But thought has not produced the capacity of contemplation to examine the numerous recondite relations and delicate discriminations of the moral science.

Your subjects must not be trusted with power or privilege, till a new system of education shall have taught them to think rather than to know, to contemplate as well as to observe, and to discipline the powers of the mind in sagacity rather than the matter of the mind in science.

I have visited your empire, and studied the moral and intellectual temperament of the people ; I have found them at the lowest grade of mental sensibility, consequently prone to precipitate action and conspiracy, and totally incapacitated to participate any privileges of sovereign authority.

My Toesin, in the most sonorous and alarming peal, cries, " Concentrate your power, and do not divide it till my new system of education shall have produced a thoughtful temperament throughout all classes of your subjects, not taught in schools or colleges, but in the bosom of domestic life, by the tuition of parents to their own children."

The simplicity of my new system of education might be taught to any man of common sense in less than a month by the lecture of its own rules, without any aid from a master, or any farther explanation than its own text. I wait to publish this important work, the pecuniary success of my future labours, which if they should fail, the manuscript must risk its loss in a descent to future ages,

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till it meets that improving energy of intellectual power which may recognise its worth:

The Tocsin addressed to Prussia.

This country, governed by those systems of civil power congenial to the moral temperament of its inhabitants, and calculated, through a well-modified liberty of the press, to give progress to the understanding without inflaming the passions of its subjects, stands in a most respectable predicament of human energy, to effect the worship of Nature, the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, in time and futurity, in the mundane system.

The present awful crisis of the civilized world advances the predicament of Prussia to the very acme of human energy. If the prince upon the throne possesses wisdom and fortitude, he will rise from his present state of drivelling policy and contemptible fear, and joining his arms to the confederacy of nations, the balance of force will so preponderate against the civic monster, that its destruction will be certain and instantaneous, to effect the salvation of social life.

The Tocsin clamours in the ears of the Prussian monarch confederacy and education: by the first he will save the world, and by the last he will save his own country and himself.

In Prussia, literature is cultivated by all classes of people, following the impressive example of a late philosophic monarch; should revolution take place in that country, the faculty of observation, awakened and diffused over the whole population by science, would generate a discord that would beggar all the descriptions of French dissension, confined to a few learned demagogues.

The education of sagacity, instead of science, must be instantly established, that the great mass of lettered sciolists being taught how to think rather than how to know, the public mind will be enabled and disposed to contemplate subjects in all their relations, and not merely to observe insulated facts. The words Liberty and Equality will be related by law and civil power; the people will discover the complicated relations of civil society; order will be preserved; and the plant of society, maintaining its organism of laws, institutions, and customs, accommodated to the will and understanding; education will cause it to fructify into actual and practical good, and advance it in the cultivation of intellectual power, to the graduating perfectibility of future ages.

The Tocsin addressed to Denmark.

The energy of this nation is so insignificant upon the scale of human power, that I should not have particularly addressed my Tocsin to it, but to warn it against the recommission of such political errors as have conveyed such indelible disgrace upon Danish policy, as no time will ever wear into obliviscence.

I allude to the Northern coalition effected by Denmark against England, when it was carrying on war against the common enemy of mankind, acknowledged by the French themselves on the inauguration of Consular power.

What was the pretext for this sacrilege against human nature? Ages and nations of futurity will shudder with indignation at the answer: That Great Britain would not suffer them to smuggle arms and ammunition upon the coast of France, the common enemy of the civilized world.

The record of this disastrous and unnatural coalition against England (whose constitution and interest offer a pledge of peace, protection, and security, to all nations) in favour of France, whose military despotism had deluged one half of Europe with desolation, anarchy, and misery, and threatened the other half with the same fate—the record of this coalition, dissolved only by the accidental death of the Emperor Paul, blazons on the page of history, a damning evidence of human imbecility, to teach this important lesson to mankind, that the science of all ages and of all nations can do nothing to advance intellectual sagacity ; which can be acquired only by a discipline of the power instead of the matter of the mind.

This inestimable discipline which I have discovered, I shall soon promulgate. I recommend to the Prince to diffuse it throughout all his dominions, as the most bencifient and wise system of instruction that ever was offered to the human species ; because it has no concern with doctrines or opinions of any kind, teaching man how to think, and not what to think, as children are taught to walk, without being directed to any particular road.

The Tocsin addressed to inferior and dependant Nations.

The intrigue and ambition of France have diffused over all these countries a spirit of faction and disorganization that will reduce them to a complete state of dependance on the protection of her military power. The partisans of this country, kept in pay and active service in all populous towns, will not permit these countries to form any permanent or independent constitution, which would not be so easily controlled by French agency as the nominal and popular forms of military expediency.

These unhappy countries must submit to French authority,

authority, and wait the auspicious moment of deliverance, from the confederacy of the superior nations, which will identify their own independence with that of the lesser states; and must save all, or be themselves involved in the French vortex of military expediency; without law, without credit, without commerce, and without system.

I recommend to these states, before the imminent chaos of social order shall take place, to diffuse my system of education and instruction over all their territories. The sagacity produced by it will be a good substitute to law and civil power; the people, rendered less ferocious and more thoughtful, will accelerate the cessation of anarchy, and return to such systems of accommodative government as may suit the advancement of intellectual power in the great mass of the people.

A Peal of the Tocsin addressed to France.

O tremendous nation! great in territory, population, and power; but the last and least of all nations in moral energy, to effect the worship of Nature, or the co-ordination and co-operation of human power, to augment good, and diminish evil, in time and futurity, in the mundane system—

Your revolution, through a series of bloody and unprincipled factions, has generated a civic monster, that has no form, no constitution, no power that accommodates itself either to the social system or the moral temperament of mankind; it presents, indeed, a camp discipline to check the fury of civil war during the life of the Commander in Chief; but the succession of chiefs entails a periodical civil war to future generations.

The present military system, hostile to commerce, to credit, and to civil law, to man and nature, while it checks

internal

internal dissensions, transfers a civil war to the great confederacy of civilized nations. The subsistence of a military nation cannot be industry, but plunder; and that want of occupation at home which would disturb internal quiet, must be provided for by external war, plunder, and desolation of its neighbours.

The last revolution of the Consulship seems to have organized that volcanic matter of factions, which, feeding on its own entrails, must have formed in a short time a vacuity, and sunk down in extinction. The Consular power has formed a regular and periodical volcano, which may last for ages, to devastate to an incalculable extent every system of social order throughout the whole population of the human species.

The moral temperament of the French people, nurtured in pleasure, garrulity, arts, and science, has lost all capacity and propensity to thought or contemplation; the mind is subjected to momentary impulse; the scoundrel of the day is the hero of the morrow; and, *vice versa*, as success conveys power, the idol is adored with the prostration and devotion of oriental slaves. Mind and body, liberty and property, are all put in requisition; and in the hands of a resolute chief they are as much a physical mass as his horse or his sword.

I am fully convinced, that if the conscripts of France were ordered to the conquest of China, or even to wage war with the baboons on the coast of Angola, not a man would dare remonstrate or refuse to embark.

It is notorious in the reign of Robespierre, that one single Jacobin would fill with terror the most loyal population of a whole province, and compel them to take arms with hypocritical enthusiasm, in the very cause they abhorred. From this fact there arises in my mind a very important

important reflection, which may convey the most instructive admonition to all Europe.

Is it possible that a people who betray such pusillanimity as citizens, can change that temperament into valour by putting on the coat of a soldier? and does not this fact demonstrate with irrefutable evidence, that the defeated and consternated armies of Europe have been humbugged by French gasconade in mob assault?

This moral temperament of prostrating impulse to imposing power, observed first by Cardinal de Retz, a French minister, who said the French people must be governed by a rod and a rattle, holds out the present military system of France as the most dangerous calamity that ever visited the human species, or threatened violation and even annihilation to the worship of Nature; that is, the co-operation of human energy to advance the good of the mundane system in time and futurity.

The ambition of a military chief, supported by a nation of thirty million of thoughtless people, who can be led naked, famishing, wasting with disease, by the sound of a drum and the cry of glory, to spread their own anarchy and wretchedness upon peaceful and happy nations, breaking down the barriers of nature which guaranty the enjoyment of those laws and customs which education has established to prevent the French giving laws to the German, the Barbary States to the Spaniard, or the Chinese to the Turk, may thus destroy that mechanism of society (the guarantee of local happiness, the enjoyment of educational propensities), best formed to promote the gradual progress of instruction, the only legitimate conquest that can force the barriers of natural distinction, and unite the world.

The institution of a military conscription is the worthy offspring of a civic monster: this strikes a dagger into the

the heart of social life. The great end of human association under all forms and all localities, is, to guaranty to every man the exercise of a profession agreeable to inclination and education. Those who prefer industry, sobriety, and order, will follow a civil profession ; and those averse to these virtues will follow the profession of arms.

The law of conscription blasts this inestimable economy of civic life, by forcing the industrious to the camp, and the lazy into their disgusting occupations ; and thus violating the temperament of individuals, the people are made wretched, and the army receives a bad information. The merchant of a feeble constitution, whose industry gains to his country several pounds per diem, is forced to the camp ; while the robust peasant, formed for the toils and dangers of the field, and who gains but a shilling, is left to his peaceful labours, and the libertine is debarred from his favourite profession.

This dangerous institution, the birth of a revolutionary monster, will oblige all nations to adopt it as a matter of necessity to equalize their force ; and all European nations will be degraded into military tribes of civilized savages, fighting for the extirpation of each other in a state of mental insanity, caused by mistaking science for sagacity. According to the poet—

“ Good sense pursue, the greatest gift of Heaven,
“ Though no one science fairly worth the seven.”

When we contemplate the dissolute morals accompanying military systems, the universal corruption and peculation which must be tolerated in offices of administration, where every thing must be bought and sold ; the tribunals of justice appointed by such administration ; the metropolis of the empire setting at defiance the laws

of morality, which are respected by all nations, is turned into a fair of brothels and gaming-houses to spread that dissipation and wretchedness which, by eradicating all habits of virtue and industry, proposes recruits for the army, or wretches for the scaffold; and, by decoying all the youth of Europe to this sink of moral pestilence; the world is more alarmed at the progress of its vices than that of its victories; the latter threatening only the subjugation of the body, while the spreading infection of the former threatens the extinction of all intellectual worth.

If the calamity of French power should not be arrested in its career by the confederacy of all civilized nations, mankind must wait the auspicious arrival of a comet in the orbit of the earth's attraction to swallow the world in its vortex, and by anticipating ages and cycles of human misery, constitute and concentrate the worship of universal nature in benign destruction.

The Tocsin addressed to Bonaparte.

You stand as an individual upon the pinnacle of human energy: every single portion of your conduct may impress upon the current of sensitive life an agitation or tranquillity that thousands of ages cannot efface.

You stand like a wave in the ocean, agitated by the convulsions of your own passions; and when this identity breaks, the matter of the body disperses itself into innumerable points of contact, to suffer the agitation of its own impulse when collected in the previous unitary point of identity.

To exemplify and illustrate this important truth of

my revelation, I will suppose the case of the first man who made a slave of his fellow-creature. This action has continued in the current of the sensitive system for a known period of three thousand years from the Grecian olympiads: and it is highly probable that it existed thirty thousand years before that.

This slave-maker dies; that is, the matter which composed the identity of master dissolves, and disperses itself over all the globe. It is highly probable that some of those dispersed myriads of atoms may enter into the bodies of millions of slaves, and thus multiplying its sufferings by millions of identities in ages of duration, it has purchased the mistaken pleasure of one identity of sixty years in time, with the pain of incalculable extent as to substance and duration in futurity.

As to this important revelation of the laws of matter, made by the ancients as well as moderns, the first acknowledged all matter to be in a state of fluxion or perpetual circulation; the latter, as Toland says, "*Materia moriente nascitur.*" Pope says, "All forms that perish, other forms supply." I am, however, the first author that ever examined the elements of this opinion, and revealed it in all its consequences of interest and essence.

I have never heard any objections preferred against the facts which are demonstrable from the science of chemistry, but only against the consequences of interest between one identity in time, and a successive one in futurity. This objection is argued by observing that, upon the dissolution of the body, all memory of identity being lost, its subsequent combination loses all interest with precedent modes.

To this objection I reply, that interest attaches to matter itself, and not to identity. Those atoms in the case above cited, which dissolved in the identity of

master, and afterwards entered the mode of slave, must feel all the anguish which they inflicted upon that mode in their precedent mode of master, though they have no remembrance of their change or transmutation from mode to mode by dissolution or recombination.

There is another objection started against the successive interest of matter, which is, the confinement of bodies in mausoleums, pyramids, and coffins. This will appear a very futile objection, if we consider the laws of matter in cohesion and fermentation, which govern all matter, whether in an organized or unorganized state.

The dead body changes its matter by emission and absorption, as much as the living body: without this change there could be no such quality as concretion or union of atoms. The dead body, however hermetically enclosed by coffins, mausoleums, &c. must have intercourse with the finer fluids, as electricity, æther, and gravity, to whose access the pores of the densest bodies are as a house-door to a fly.

The dead body in the tomb does not gravitate towards the coffin or the stones, but to the earth's centre, where it circulates in union and interchange of atoms with the whole mundane system.

I have thought it advisable to conduct my Tocsin addressed to you, with an increased evidence and exposition of the unity of essence and interest of all matter; to impress your mind with an awful influence of concern that may induce you to translate your transcendent energy from the scale of evil where it now operates (to consternate the world, like the approach of a comet), to the scale of good, where it may advance the perfectibility of the human species in the same ratio as it threatened its retrogradation.

The first measure my Tocsin dictates as the inceptive action

action of your worship of Nature is, to suffer surrounding nations under your protective power, to return to those systems of government which conform best to their locality, customs, habits, opinions, and education. This change will not remove them from the influence or dependance of France, but only enable them to return to that state of industry, order, and prosperity, which may form a happy example and influence on the population of France itself.

In the policy of France, your energy, however inauspicious in a wide and speculative view, has nevertheless produced a temporary suspension of anarchy, and a disposition of subordination, order, and authority: this may prepare the people for that great catastrophe which the worship of Nature and the salvation of the human species demand, which is, the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy in France, and the ancient dynasty under it, as the only system of policy suitable to great empires, as demonstrated by the experience of all ages, all nations, and all human history.

This momentous catastrophe may be produced with the same facility as a review on the plains of Sablons. Send for Louis the Eighteenth to Havre, meet him there with your Consular guard, conduct him to Paris, and announce his restoration by couriers to the armies dispersed and divided previously over all the country.

To appoint Louis as a successor, would be as futile as to appoint any body else; for when you die, your senate, like the prætorian guard, will put the empire up to auction, when the longest purse will succeed, if the longest sword should not previously have shut up both the auction-room and the auctioneers.

You will shudder at my proposal because you can have no confidence in French faith, and therefore no-

thing but personal fear in the restoration of a king. If you acknowledge, however, those laws of nature which my Tocsin has revealed, your dread of royal resentment will be removed by the immense retribution of interest to your dissolving and recomposing matter in an incalculable futurity, by preserving the organism of civil society.

The success of restoration by the means I have recommended cannot be doubtful, when you reflect that the dastardly Robespierre, with the assistance of a few barbers' boys, in a Jacobin club, directing five hundred armed ruffians from Marseilles, forced the pusillanimous mass of the French people into democracy, destroying commerce, credit, and subsistence, putting life, property, and person in requisition, to march naked and affamished into remote countries, destroying others, by themselves destroyed.

If a poor dastardly Jacobin could force the people to adopt a system of misery and anarchy, what may be expected from a hero at the head of a determined body of well-disciplined soldiers, to give the people of France what ninety-nine out of a hundred demand, a system of government congenial to their habits, which may restore them to peace, commerce, order, and prosperity, and enable them to uphold and re-establish the broken confederacy of Europe, as the great anchor of social organism, which, being cultivated by the improvement of intellectual energy, may place the human species in its true category of action or worship of Nature, by the enjoyment of practical, and the advancement of perfectible good to the whole sensitive system in time and futurity ?

HAVING finished my appeal to nations, I shall devote my conclusion to take a comparative view of the revelation of mystery, or religious faith, and the revelation of reason, in their influence on human conduct.

There is no instance in all the records of history that the mysteries of faith or religion ever impeded the massacre of the human species in national wars; they have been the perpetual cause of all civil wars, by confounding the intelligible duties of civil society with the unintelligible mysteries of faith. Every man can appeal to the dictates of common sense, and the universal experience of common life, to confirm or refute the facts of policy, while the opinions of mystery can have no appeal but to fancy and to force.

It has been the common opinion of mankind in all ages, that though the mysteries of faith may have no influence on the policy of nations, yet its influence is salutary and indispensable upon individual subjects, to preserve the order and peace of society.

My experience in travels from one extremity of the globe to the other, with the sole object of man for my study, contradicts this vulgar opinion. I have observed in all countries that morality followed an inverse ratio of religion.

From the east to the west I have observed, that in those countries where there was most religion there was least morality. In China, religious duties are incessant, and introductory to the most trivial action of human conduct; yet, in this country, there is not the least appearance of a single virtue; sympathy, probity, fortitude, and wisdom are unknown, and a general system of fraud, treachery, and cruelty pervades all human conduct.

In proceeding westward, we meet the Tartars, who have less religion than the Chinese, and much more virtue.

ture. Next come the Turks, among whom superstition diminishes in a few grades, and virtue again increases. Next to these we meet the Germans, whose virtue far exceeds the Turks, but whose religion is an exact proportion less. From the German Empire we pass over into England, where they are obliged on a week-day to pay a few old women to frequent the churches, or they must be shut up. In this country, where every gentleman is almost an Atheist, and every plebeian more of a moralist than a religionist, virtue is carried to its acme. The honesty of the plebeian, the candour and sincerity of the merchant, and the honour and integrity of the gentleman, are characteristics of Englishmen, and contradict with strong evidence the vulgar opinion of the universal and indispensable influence of religion.

Among the lower classes of people of all nations, I have observed shame to be the primum mobile, or strongest motive of moral action. What prevents the peasant from committing crimes beyond the reach of law, and punishable only by the loss of character? Nothing but shame. What makes the populace of towns more disposed to debauchery and theft than villagers? The facility of concealing their shame, and finding associates in vice, which keeps off the horror of contempt.

The instantaneous reform of convicts, when sent to the American colonies, amounts to a full demonstration that shame is the primum mobile, or most powerful motive of all human action. The felon, hardened in vice, the habitude of shame lost in the conciliation of associates, and the disposition totally demoralized; this very degenerated and unnaturalized human being, transported into a society of honest peasantry, returns suddenly to the temperament of shame, like the elastic curve of a bow to a straight staff when its string is unbent.

What stupendous influence of shame we see exhibited in

in an army or fleet, where the most ignorant and insensible part of a population, as soldiers and sailors, confront all the horrors of human sufferance, disease, famine, wounds, and death, with a firmness of mind and countenance, that nothing but the dread of contempt can generate in common minds !

It may be objected to this influence of shame, that religion produces the same effect, as evidenced in martyrdom and crusades. To this I reply, that religious enthusiasm affects only fanatics and bigots, but moral shame affects all mankind without distinction, and proves its influence paramount to all other motives.

These reflections are not intended to impeach the truth of religion, but its influence only to dispose pious and moral men to be less apprehensive of those sceptical writings and philosophic systems which call man to assert his prerogative of reason, and to make it the criterion of all intelligible thought and action, to effect the worship of Nature, the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, in time and futurity, to the mundane system.

This great essay will operate upon its own scale without interfering with that of religious mystery, which has been a clue of social discipline for ages ; and without some wide experiment, the question of its influence cannot be determined ; but I conjure all pious men, friends to human nature, not to oppose the progress of sagacity, because it may diminish the sanctity of mystery or the latitude of faith.

The laws of nature, to produce the general harmony of system, have placed all objects of human existence within the reach of human intelligence ; and it would have been as preposterous to have placed the food of the human body in the clouds, as the aliment of the mind out of the reach of experience ; or, in other words, to have made the medium of sight invisible, by which the eyes

would have become useless as the medium of knowledge unintelligible, by which the understanding would have become an ignis fatuus.

To exhibit this important criterion of thought and action on the scale of experience, I shall review my discovery of the unity of essence and interest of all matter. Of this fact we have the clearest intuitive knowledge in the dissolution, dispersion, and recombination of all bodies into one another; but nature refuses all physical experience to ascertain the duration of atoms in the different modes of circulation, or to determine at what period the human body may pass beyond the sphere of its own mundane action, by circulating into spheres remote from the solar system.

The important fact of unity of essence and interest in all matter, would be a useless discovery to human intellect, if it was not accompanied with a scale of experience. For this purpose, the laws of nature have happily substituted moral to physical experience in the sensations of pain and pleasure.

The affection of sympathy is the first law of the moral world, as gravity is of the physical world. These laws of sympathy graduate the instructive scale of moral experience as a substitute to physical experience, in proportion as we sympathize with the whole sensitive system, accommodated to circumstances in time, in that very proportion we perfectuate the condition of that system in futurity.

I shall exemplify this scale of moral experience as an efficient substitute to physical experience, by taking notice of the laws of England made for the protection of the brute species; and exposed on a post in Smithfield market.

These laws, which mark the transcendent superiority
of

of the intellectual energy of the British nation over all people of the globe, provide for the humane treatment of cattle in a mode conformable to the usages, customs, and necessities of civilized life. This humanity to the brute recoils its beneficence upon the centre of its own action, and promotes that moral sympathy which administers in alms-houses, hospitals, workhouses, and liberal donations in times of scarcity, a relief throughout the whole body of the community, which the nations of the continent are totally deprived of.

This effect of sympathy, graduated upon the scale of actual good, that is, so modified as to meet the predicament of life (instead of a total emancipation of the brute species from slaughter and labour, which might disturb the order of society), forms that sensational scale of experience, which nature has substituted to an impossible physical experience, to pursue and measure the great intuitive fact of the unity of self and nature, in the dissolution and recombination of all modes of matter into one another throughout the universe.

This sympathy of the British nation spreads its relations to the whole human species, generating those protective wars which glorify her history in the protection of the Protestant republics, in the protection of the house of Austria, in the preservation of the balance of power, the sheet anchor of civilized nations, the protection of Turkey, of Egypt, and of Portugal, without receiving any recompense or increase of territory, which her constitution forbids, and with no other hope than the progress of civil liberty throughout all the population of the globe.

Such is the graduated scale of sensational experience to conduct man through all the modifications of intelligence.

gence to effect the worship of Nature, the augmentation of good, and diminution of evil, in the mundane system.

Some of my readers may probably make the following reflection upon this scale of experience, to measure the interest of human action and human existence. We are sensible that the social condition of the present generations must be entailed upon their successive generations, as modifications of the same dissolving matter; and that the power of princes and legislators may transmit much good or evil to their own changeable, but not annihilable, essence. But it appears to us, from the discovery of such laws of nature, that individual energy of subjects has little or no motive for action upon the scale of universal interest.

To these reflections I reply, that individual action has more influence on the establishment of custom than legislative action on the establishment of law. Custom generates the habit of candour and sincerity, which is the soul of private and public happiness, both moral and physical. Custom generates that spirit of liberality which participates a just profit in all relations of commerce and labour, known only among the civic inhabitants of Great Britain.

Custom modifies the relations of domestic life, of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, the great medium of human felicity.

All these customs are the result of individual action, and not of legislation, and effect human felicity far beyond the energy of law and government.

To these arguments for individual energy, I shall add some physical reflections, that every individual body dying in the bosom of its own family, disperses a very great proportion of its atoms in its own domestic sphere;

that the living bodies of wife, children, servants, and cattle, incorporate much of them before their funeral, and thus the dying agent is modified into the living patient, to enjoy or suffer his own domestic laws.

It may probably be objected by some, that these atoms may have a quick circulation through the different bodies, and thus not remain long the patients of their former agency. To this I reply, that, as every atom is the generator of the identity (which means succession of sensations, not sameness) of all bodies, it perpetuates its interest and essence to all subsequent generations of the human species, while the atom itself may be far removed beyond the visible system of the universe.

These consequences of the great fact of unity of interest are mere speculations, and the individual must appeal for information to the great scale of experience, *sympathy*, which will inform him by the indubitable evidence of his own sensations, that his own domestic happiness will be in an exact ratio with the happiness of all his dependants; and that sympathy, probity, fortitude, and wisdom, are those virtues whose economy forms the great scale of experience in the moral science, to constitute the art of happiness, that is, the enjoyment of all possible good in time, which will be the exact measure of all perfectible good in futurity.

I have followed in this important and inestimable discovery of the laws of nature relative to human existence, the example of the most pious men, who exposed natural truth, though in apparent contradiction with the mysteries of faith.

The Book of Mystery declares the sun stood still; Copernicus discovered and declared it never moved. The Book of Mystery announces a witch shall not be suffered to live; the learned judges of all nations have declared,

that there is no such thing as a witch in nature, and have expelled the charge from all their tribunals.

The Book of Mystery says, the world was created in seven days; the pious Sir Isaac Newton has proved by his laws of light, that the fixed stars could not become visible in as many years.

These pious sages determined by their example, that where the language of mystery contradicted the positive laws of nature, and maintained two to be the half of six, or the part greater than the whole, it behoved mankind rather to suppose they did not understand the mystery, than to deny the truth of nature, or oppose the progress of human intelligence, as the great energy of universal nature operating in the mundane system.

In following these illustrious examples of pious men, I have discovered that the qualities of all bodies follow the dispersion of their substances; and that when a violin is broken, and its atoms dispersed, those atoms must lose their musical quality, and acquire that of the substance into which they are recombined. Just so it is with the human body in dissolution; the atom that unites with a cabbage will vegetate and not think; and those which are again recombined in the intellectual system, will have no recollection of their former identity, while they suffer or enjoy the consequence of their previous agency.

In this discovery of natural truth I have not opposed the doctrine of mysterious faith, as my illustrious predecessors have done. I have only filled up the great chasm of chronology between the common course of nature for perhaps millions of ages, till the dispensation of mystery and faith shall commence on (indefinite period) the day of judgment, to give a new creation to the universe.

The last and loud Peal of my Tocsin addressed to all Individuals characterized with the Powers of Sagacity opposed to Science.

I conjure in the sacred names of Truth and Nature, every man of mind to promote a new system of education which I shall soon publish ; calculated to augment the powers of the understanding by the most simple art of discipline of the thoughts and faculties, in contrast with the present mode of education ; to teach knowledge by augmenting the matter of thought instead of the powers of thought.

At the present unparalleled crisis of imminent discord and anarchy, when the military power of France threatens the loss of social life to the whole civilized world ; what event could be more propitious than the discovery of the moral and physical laws of the universe ? It resembles the fate of the aloe, whose plant dies when its flower bossoms.

This Tocsin, the flower of human intellect, if its counsels should not be able to save the plant of social life, will at least have generated the seed of human perfectibility, that may lie dormant and sound till the moral climate and season of circumstances may propitiate its cultivation, to resuscitate the civic state of man as established and lost in the British empire.

I conjure all pious men to lay aside their jealousies of the progress of the human understanding, *that it may undermine the fabric of religious mystery.* By promoting the imbecility of mankind, in order to keep them within the pale of the church, the same imbecility will render them the victims of the insidious declamation of demagogues to perpetuate civil dissension of nations in alternate

alternate despotism and anarchy. The happiness of human life can be acquired only by sagacity, or a proper exercise of human reason upon the scale of experience; beyond which all is mystery, and reason has no power.

What can we reason, but from what we know;
And from a real what search in experience why?

The duties of domestic, moral, and political life must all be founded on clear and intelligent principles, amenable to experience. Such is the province of reason, with which mystery cannot interfere without producing interminable discord, bloodshed, and anarchy, as exemplified in all the revolutions and civil wars of nations.

Religious mystery, while it is used as a clue to social order, may or may not be beneficial to the enjoyment of actual and the advancement of future good; a question which the improving reason of ages will bring to the test of experience. But to confound the evidence of human policy with the belief and conjectures of religious mystery would be to perpetuate eternal discord, darkness, and desolation to the whole human species.

All revelations of mystery are liable to be superseded by subsequent revelations, and to lose their sanctity in the progress of intellectual power. The revelation of reason attempted in this essay, if it is a just exposition and discovery of the laws of nature, must be established, and not superseded by any subsequent discoveries; and must acquire strength in the parallel advancement of intellectual sagacity.

The laws of man and nature understood,
Prove one same essence, interest, power, and good.

I have

I have written the foregoing essay with no other motive than to develope the energies of my nature in the great worship of the universe; and in so doing I feel that I have not merely existed as an animal, but I have lived as a man. And to those readers who may acknowledge the truth of my philosophical doctrines, I recommend the preservation of this work, and its translation and dispersion in all languages among all nations, as the highest act of self-interest, identified with universal good in time and futurity.

THE END.

The Author of this Work proposes to read a Course of Lectures upon the Human Understanding, to exhibit a discipline by which its powers may be increased without any reference to doctrines or opinions. To these Lectures, nine in number, will be added three discourses ; one on language, one on education, and the last on human knowledge.

They will commence the first of March, at No. 40, Brewer Street.—Tickets, at Two Pounds the Subscription, may be had of the Author, at No. 9, Lower James Street, Golden Square.

APPENDIX.

ALL human energy is derived from intelligence, directed by experience. Whatever is unintelligible, and whatever is placed beyond the reach of experience, can have no relation or consequence with human nature.

I recommend to pious men, who may be jealous of the power of reason, lest it should annihilate the influence of religious faith, to search into the various descriptions and classes of people hostile to monarchical institutions, and they will find the votaries of superstition, the pious sectarians, as Presbyterians, Moravians, Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers, form the advanced phalanx, or covering party, behind which the unprincipled demagogues lead on the dissolute, the desperate, and ignorant rabble.

I have been informed by many well-meaning zealots, who have frequented the popular societies at all their meetings, that, if it had not been for the presence of some pious sectarians, the number of abandoned and unprincipled characters which appeared there would have excited in their minds a disgust and abhorrence so strong, that they must instantly have retired.

In all the revolutions of nations, religion has perpetually taken the lead. The famous revolution in England, and the recent one in America, spread about their fury from the sectarian pulpit; and the monster of all revolu-

lutions, in France, was accomplished by the clergy, who called out to the soldiers, when sent by the King to disperse the deputies at the Tennis-court, "Your priests are here;" at which exclamation the soldiers retired, and anarchy commenced.

If we inquire into the cause of hostility between religion and government, which it seems to support, we shall discover it in the imbecility of the human mind, ignorant of the laws and relations of man and nature.

The bigotted sectarian or religionist believes that the more he sacrifices of actual good in the interest of self, of family, of country, the more he will enjoy of future good, when the dispensation of mystery shall take place at the indefinite period called the day of judgment, when the universe shall put on a human personification, to punish those who have not performed unintelligible mystic rites in the sacrifice of family, country, and self.

Such a belief disposes them to adopt the silly theories of liberty and equality, preached by turbulent, ambitious, and unprincipled demagogues; and though they are persiuated these doctrines must subvert the order, peace, and comfort of society, yet their fanatic preachers assure them, that temporal misery and adversity is the only road to the new Jerusalem in eternity.

I shall address a clangorous peal of my Tocsin to bigots of every description.

Whatever may be the laws of mystery, or whenever they may commence, they never can supersede the laws of nature.

For example, if the farmer would produce a harvest, he must plough his ground, sow his seed, and weed the soil. It would avail him nothing, in the order of cause and effect, to sow and to reap, if he were to sing a song, to dance a hornpipe, or to take a pinch of snuff.

In the same manner, the psalms, prayers, and prostrations of the bigot avail nothing in the chain of cause and effect of human life, to produce actual and improvable good, which must be effected by education, instruction, and social policy, to place the human mode of being in its true category of existence, the enjoyment of actual good in life, as commensurate with future good in death, or successions of new life; and the prostrations of the bigot to effect this purpose would avail as little as the dancing of the farmer round his plough to the fructification of his soil.

The tremendous prospect of human misery, from the Catholic population of Ireland, animates my resentment against bigotry. Here we observe three millions of our fellow-beings, with the strongest passions and weakest intellect of all the human species, absolutely incapacitated to think, that is, to consider subjects in all the variety of their relations; their minds are but little elevated above instinct, which reasons from simple sense, unaccompanied by the multiplied perceptions of reflection.

These monsters, led on by priests as vicious and ignorant as themselves, massacred, in the late rebellion, their own fellow-citizens, because they could not believe that the universal power of nature,

‘ Which burns in the sun, and blossoms in the trees,
“ Thinks in the man, and whistles in the breeze,”

was personified in a biscuit, swallowed by the priest, and evacuated in human ordure upon a dunghill.

This atrocity was perpetrated in Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century, when the bigotry of Catholicism has disappeared in all other parts of the world, expelled by the enlightened intercourse of improving knowledge.

Should these monsters ever acquire power as an independent nation, and, like France, necessitated to adopt a military government (for fools and knaves can have no other) to extend their dominion, the worship of nature would be annihilated, and mankind, forced into Catholicism, would be obliged, by the powers of an inquisition, to torture and incarcerate their bodies with penance and convents, to brutalize their minds with superstition, to obtain the rewards of such insanity in a mystical Jerusalem.

Thus the human mind, as a constituent part of universal power in the mundane system, would be obliged to pervert its own laws, and to cultivate evil for good, and thus perpetuate a chaos in the moral world.

These reflections excite in my mind such horror and indignation against superstition, that I am disposed to annihilate it, even to its source; for it resembles the polypus, that if a piece is left unbruised, it will generate a whole.

As I have been a great advocate, in all my writings, for the perfectibility or improvable state of human nature, it may be objected to this Essay, by some well-meaning advocates for reform, that I have been too hostile to the popular party in a country of constitutional freedom.

To this I reply, that philosophy must always be the friend of rational liberty; that I shall always promote reform of administration, and parliamentary vigilance over the executive power; but this vigilance and reform must be conducted by a most respectable opposition, having the support of the yeomanry in county meetings, and not town-hall rabble, connected with tavern mobs, whose ignorance, turbulence, and blind devotion to demagogues have been the bane of liberty in all ancient

ancient and modern republics, where the constitution was always destroyed and lost by the violence of the multitude, and in no instance by the ambition of the prince, which can make no encroachment till the licentiousness of the mob, and the apprehensions of anarchy, offer the most legitimate pretext for its commencement, growth, and consummation.

A contemptible opposition, that puts itself at the head of the rabble, when the country party abandon it with suspicion of treason to public execration, must invigorate the executive power, and make it inaccessible to all impeachment and all reform ; and the true friend to civil liberty will ever be more jealous of the preponderance of the popular than of the executive branch of the constitution.

In the body of my Essay I have denominated the government of France a monster, that is, a mode of civic existence that has no organic members, with a total incapacity to generate an offspring, or state of social order.

This sentiment will be explained and justified, by a survey of its diplomatic conduct, and its internal administration of the civil power.

The style of correspondence maintained with foreign powers has betrayed an extreme ignorance and disregard of the relative duties of states to each other, and of the laws of nations, by a tone of imperiousness used only by uncivilized nations.

The difference of respect paid to ambassadors, when Lord Cornwallis was permitted to pass in his carriage a certain place at Paris, and all others prohibited, is another usage of Asiatic nations, which is repugnant to the dignity and hostile to the federal policy of European states ; and the silence

silence of insulted nations is a proof that they are panic-struck at the appearance of the monster.

This diplomatic conduct shews the incapacity of the government of France to uphold the relations of policy with surrounding nations, and proves it a monster in the confederacy of civilized states.

To these instances of diplomatic incapacity and barbarism, I shall add two more: the embassy of Sebastiani to the republic of the Seven Isles, where he sent for the officers of state, and ordered them to release their prisoners, without any application to government. The ambassador who had insulted the Portuguese government and violated their laws, was impudently sent back, to mark the most profound contempt for the nation who was base enough to receive him.

With the foregoing evidence of incapacity to uphold the important, dignified, and peaceful relations of nations, is it possible to expect the internal peace of France, or the external peace of surrounding nations, till the ancient monarchy is restored to that unhappy country?

The administration of the internal affairs gives the most accomplished evidence on the insubordination of the military power to the civil; that France has no organic members of a civic state, and must therefore be a monster: this is proved by the present state of the army at St. Domingo, which demands, for its safety, immediate reinforcements.

These reinforcements, it is understood, cannot be taken from the immense army of regulars in France, because they are repugnant to the service; the government, therefore, has been obliged to delay this critical service till recruits can be levied in foreign countries, and

prepared

prepared by discipline; in which time and delay the army of St. Domingo must inevitably be lost.

By these few reflections I think I have justified the appellation of monster, given to the form of government in France, which must excite the dread of all civilized nations, to fall under the conquest of a military banditti, without laws, without principle, and without government.

The Greeks, the Romans, the Medes, the Persians, when they conquered countries, brought with them only a change of power, but no loss of protection; but France, when she conquers other nations, before she has conquered herself, that is, established organic power or constitutional government, offers nothing but a vortex of desolation and anarchy to all nations within the sphere of her dominion and conquest.

Among Asiatic nations obedience follows power in all revolutions; but among European nations, commerce and science have formed such an enlightened intercourse, that revolutionary power, however strong it may be at a particular crisis, can have no site or duration but in public opinion, sentiment, and habit.

Civilized nations resemble individuals in society; if civic organization is dissolved, a state of anarchy ensues, which must generate despotism. In the same manner, nations, when the balance of power is lost, must enter into a state of contention that will necessitate the restitution of a confederacy in the laws of nations to force the adoption of lawful power on that country which threatens the destruction of civilized life, by its own anarchy or incivic power.

The system of education proposed in the body of my Essay, is to discipline the heart and head in virtue and sagacity, rather than the memory in letters and science;

to teach men to think, and use the powers of reason, rather than to know a mass of useless science.

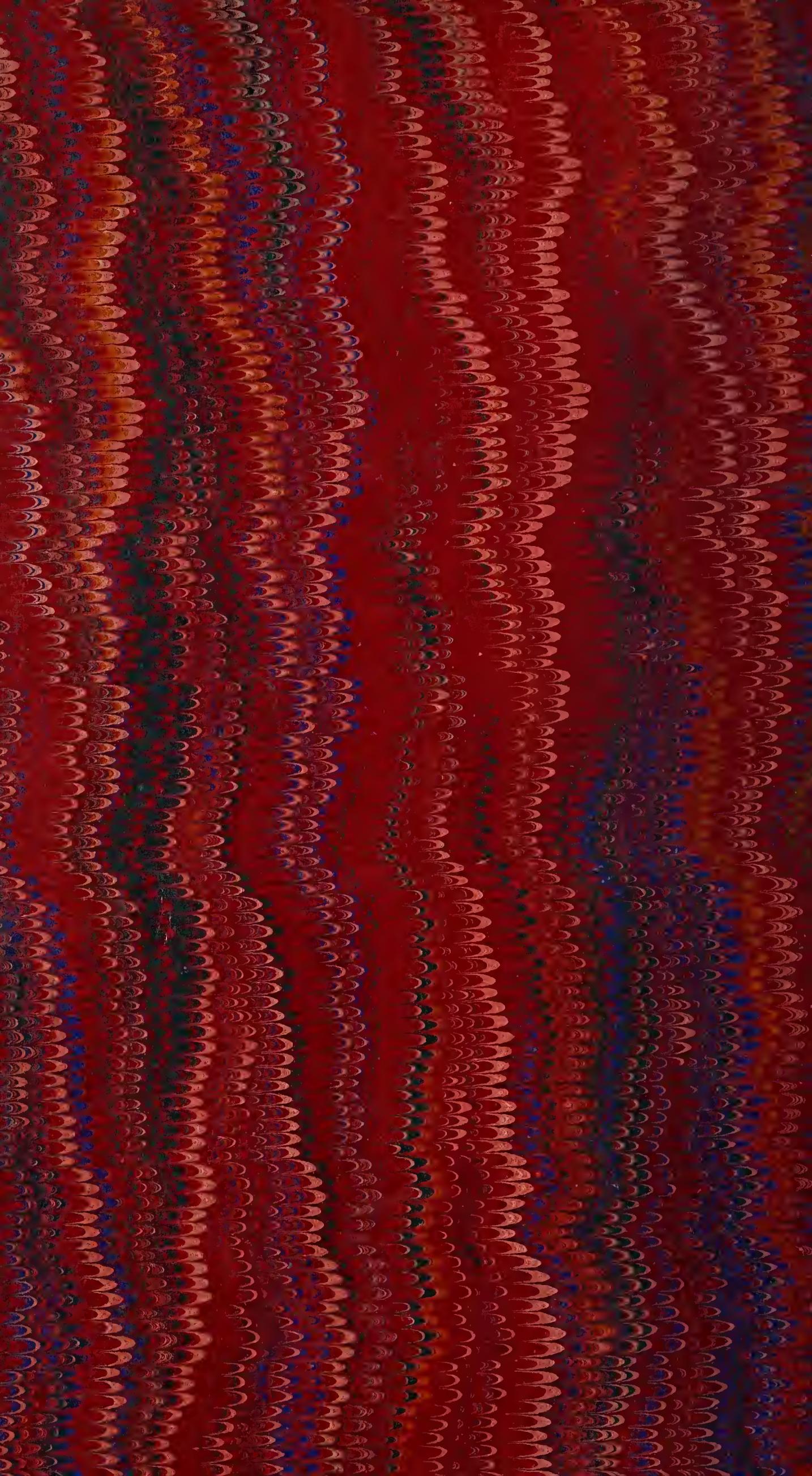
The criterion of intellectual power, or what is called wisdom, is a capacity to multiply perceptions, or relations of a subject, to form the greatest mass of evidence, for judgment to calculate its approximating probabilities of decision.

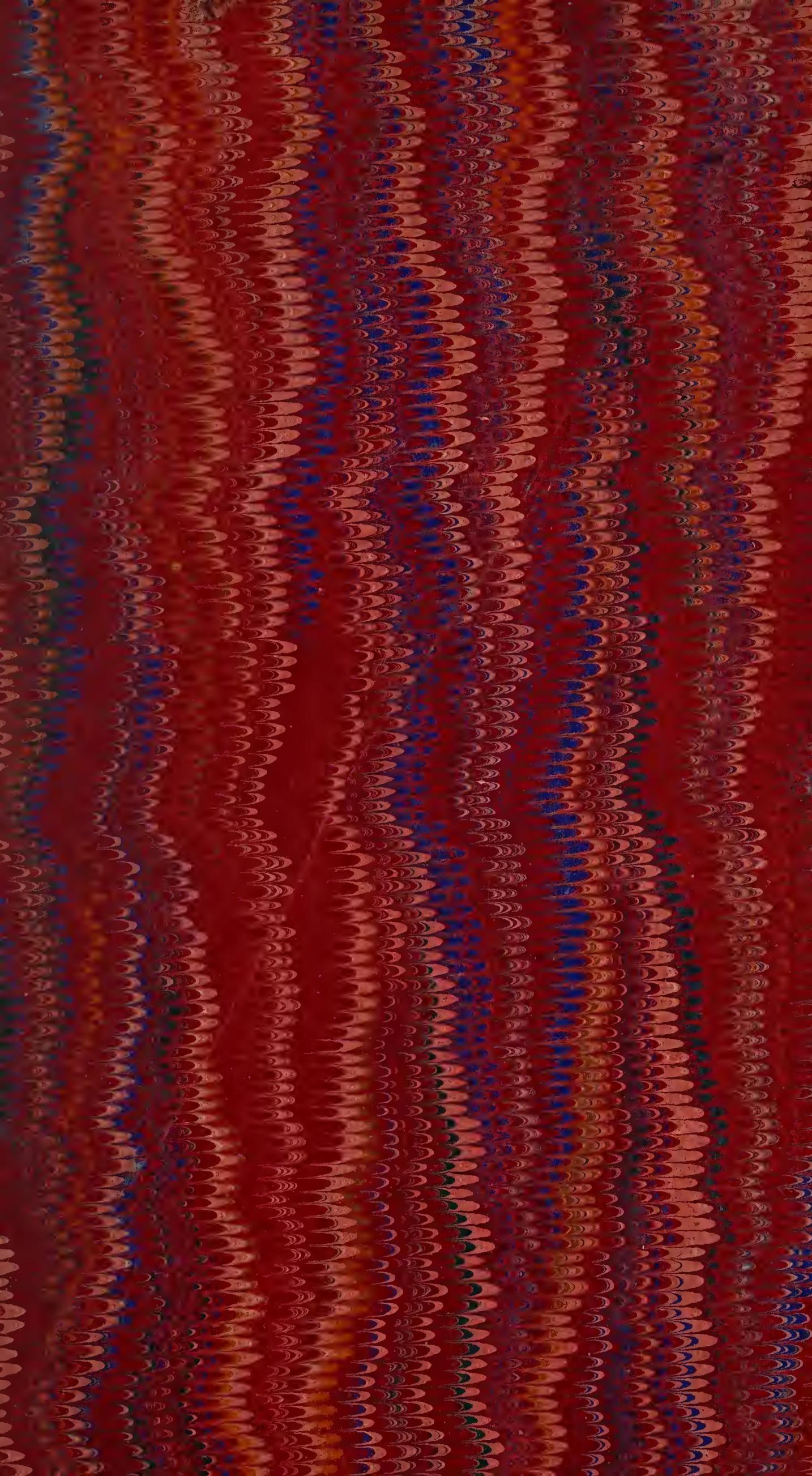
Science is hostile to this temperament of sagacity, because it habituates the mind to closed propositions, and gives no exercise to invention or search of more evidence to determine the nice and difficult approximations of the moral science.

Sciolists, or men of letters called authors (who read enough to make themselves witty, but do not think enough to make themselves wise), defective in judgment, from the too great exercise of memory, form another phalanx to cover the atrocity of demagogues, who court the influence of the monster, to give them the throne of a day, though they must foresee, from the example of all history, that whenever a foreign nation acquires influence over another, subjugation must inevitably follow, and the suborned demagogues will be the first victims of its conquest.

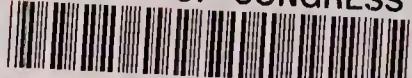
I now take leave of my readers with this immortalizing reflection, that the labour of this Essay (which is but a specimen of the more important works I have ready for the press, on the subjects of education, language, the discipline of the understanding, and human knowledge) has done more to develope human energy in the mundane system, than all the power of kings, the arms of heroes, the riches of nobles, and the pens of authors, throughout the annals of human history.

THE END.





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